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A DOCUMENT OR THREE

SECOND INSTALLMENT OF THE NEWS ON THE HEALTHY UPRISING IN ENGLAND

Readers of The People, who have been noticing an item or another indicating that a healthy uprising was under way in the Socialist camp in Great Britain, and whose appetite for further information must have been whetted by last week's London letter, will, while awaiting concrete details from our comrades across the pond, surely enjoy the below recital, mainly documentary. It will convey, by inference and deduction, quite a clear and cheering idea of what is going on yonder.

Under the heading "United States; from Our New York Correspondent," the London "Justice" of the 16th instant has this gem:

> "The prompt action of the S. D. F. in dealing effectually with those malcontents who are bent upon following the lead of the German-Venezuelan Jew Loeb, or 'de Leon,' to the pit of infamy and disgrace, is regarded with much satisfaction on this side. With us this struggle is over, as the 'de Leonists' are visibly going to pieces and have already lost their places on the balloting lists in some States through fraudulent and corrupt practices and failure to obtain votes at elections. It is a mistake to fight these recalcitrants, or "impossibilists," as you have happily dubbed them. If they find themselves resisted and argued with, it gives them importance and advertisement which is just what they want. If left alone they will sink to insignificance and the good work will go on."

Any reader of average intelligence, even if not sufficiently posted on matters American to detect the lie about the Socialist Labor Party having "lost its place" in several or any one State; any intelligent reader will perceive quickly from the tone, style and "argumenet" of this New York correspondent that he and his party must be a badly beaten combination, beaten to a standstill by the S. L. P., and so thoroughly exposed and riddled that he and it have nothing else left to them than to indulge in idiotic blackguardism and blackguardly idiocy. This being so, what does it mean when the foreign editor, to whom such matter is sent and who has troubles of his own, referred to in the very introductory lines of such stuff, publishes such stuff. It proves, inferentially, that HE IS IN THE IDENTICAL BOX AS HIS CORRESPONDENT, also beaten sore and bereft of sense. That is document No. 1.

Document No. 2, while still only allowing inferences to be drawn, narrows the inferences down to concreter facts. Here is the document; it is a letter, a cry from Edinburgh, and is also taken from the "Justice" of the same date:

> "APPEAL FROM THE EDINBURGH BRANCH.
>
> "Comrade: Would you allow me to make an appeal in your columns to all the well wishers of the S. D. F. in Edinburgh.
>
> "Now that the evil which has paralyzed where it has not disrupted the movement in Scotland has been got rid of, so far as the S. D. F. is concerned, I would ask those whom the antics (for I will not dignify them with the name of tactics) of the past two years have driven from all direct connection with the S. D. F. if they do not now consider it their duty to join the late Eastern Edinburgh, now the Edinburgh, Branch of the S. D. F. That branch may arrogate to itself the high honor of having saved the situation in Scotland, and now that (as will be seen from the report of the newly-formed S. D. C.) the broken threads of the movement are to be taken up again and reunited, if those to whom I am now appealing will but perform the duty which I think is incumbent upon them, before long the Edinburgh S. D. F. may again occupy the proud position it held for so long, of being, both in earnestness ,and organization, the premier Socialist organization in Scotland. This much, at least, we can guarantee, that in the clubrooms of the S. D. F. they may depend upon being treated with at least ordinary courtesy.
>
> "The faithful remaining of the twelve men who first formed the East Edinburgh branch, to-day see the fullest justification of their action then. A few of these twelve have made default in their honorable and written obligations toward the branch, of which more will be heard hereafter and at the proper time, but the remainder have remained faithful through good and ill repute, storm and shine, and even in the darkest hour when it would almost have seemed as if the S. D. F. executive was afraid or unwilling to use the knife for the excision of the cancer which was eating the very life out of the organization, these men stood firm and gave an admirable example to young recruits who enlisted with us. Yet it was not done without a heavy strain, both financial and otherwise. On looking over the accounts of the branch I find that since last May no less a sum than £42 has been disbursed by the branch for its purposes. That has been all met, but it will be understood that a branch composed exclusively of working men has not effected this without a strain. Therefore, for the sake of the "good old cause," and for the magnificent old propagandist organization, I make this appeal to all our friends to ally themselves without delay to the Edinburgh Branch of the S. D. F., and to bear in mind that it is the present moment, if ever, to which is applicable the scriptural dictum: 'Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation.'
>
> "Yours, fraternally,
>
> "JOHN LESLIE.
>
> "8, St. James' Place, Edinburgh, May 9, 1903."

It is getting hotter. Here we have explicit declamations concerning "cancers that have been eating the very life of the organization," and the statement that "the evil has been got rid of." These utterances, connected with the tone of appeal and distress, that runs through the whole letter, and the careful avoidance of figures as to relative strength, and details as to how "the cancer was got rid of," naturally arouse suspicion. The suspicion becomes something more tangible than a mere suspicion when the headquarters that this "cancer expeller" writes from is noticed. It is "8 St. James' Place, Edinburgh." But the old headquarters of the organization has been "6 Drummond street," and what's more, IT HAS REMAINED THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE "CANCER" ELEMENT. All their correspondence to this office and the Labor News Co., down to most recent date, have come from "6 Drummond street," and all the matters sent from here and received there were addressed to "6 Drummond street." The whine in the above document grows explainable: The "cancer" was "got rid of" by ITS bouncing Brother Leslie and his fellows. That's document No. 2.

Document No. 3 is still more explicit. It is also from "Justice," May 9. It appears under the headline "The Movement" (it is decidedly moving), and is the report from Glasgow. Here it is:

> "Glasgow (Tradeston). — This branch was called into existence under very peculiar circumstances barely three months ago, through the disruptive tactics pursued by a small section of the Glasgow Central branch. Well armed with American slang phrases and abusive epithets of the hooligan type this section was not long in disgusting old and esteemed comrades to the extent of compelling them to hand in their resignation. Those comrades whose skins were somewhat tougher they actually expelled the S. D. F. when, by a somewhat fortunate circumstance, they were able to obtain a majority of one. The comrades who had carried on the movement in this town long before these men were heard of, found themselves face to face with a difficulty quite different to the innumerable difficulties with which the movement in Glasgow had ever been confronted before. Two courses were left open to us, either to make a clean sweep of the objectionables, or to leave them severely alone until the annual conference, and in the meantime to reorganize the SCATTERED FRAGMENTS of what was once one of the most promising branches in Scotland; the latter course we decided to adopt."

What the "prompt action" was, and by whom executed comes out much clearer he[illegible] "Scattered fragments," applied by a "faithful" himself to the faithful, is good. It is pictorial. It reproduces to the mind's eye the quantity and the plight of the "faithful." Obviously the "cancer" element grabbed the faithful owls by the slack of their reputations, and fragmented them scatteringly into space. Pretty good for "small cliques" and "cancers"!

To think that such fragments in England and Scotland should have presumed to handle such a great, grave and historic movement as the Socialist, when they were fit merely to furnish amusement to the Movement!

In the meantime, from letters from the camp of the uprising in England as well as Scotland we learn that the uprising has significantly enough taken the name of SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY of Great Britain, they have sent for large supplies of, literature, PEOPLES included, and also for our Party button, which they have, significantly also, adopted as their emblem.

Who is there with heart so flinty that he will have no charity for the London "Social Democrat" when it laments, as it does in this month's issue, just in, over the "lamentable decline" of the Socialist Labor Party of America, and of its national organ, THE PEOPLE?

THE VERY LATEST.

Machine Invented That Will Do the Work of Ten Barbers.

According to the Utica Journal, a well-known merchant of that city, working with an electrical expert who is a graduate of Cornell, has devised a machine which will shave a man's face in a manner equal to if not superior to the work of the barber. Patents have been applied for and the full details of the machine will soon be given to the public. The principle involved is similar to that of a lawn mowing machine. Comparatively dull knives are used, the great speed obtained making sharp blades unnecessary. The machine proper consists of a disk two inches long and about three inches in diameter. To this on one end is added a handle about three and one-half inches in length. On the disk are set several flexible blades, about one-eighth of an inch wide. These blades are set to reach about 1-100th part of an inch below the aperture in the disk. From one to five knives may be used, according to the rate of speed used. The machine is run by a small electric motor, making from 1,000 to 2,000 revolutions per minute. The knives are operated in a rotary manner and alternate with one another when a series of knives are used. A guard makes accidental cutting of the face impossible and prevents the knives from becoming misplaced. The motor which supplies the power weighs about a pound, and when placed in the case, the whole outfit occupies a space six inches long, six inches thick and two inches wide. The motor is run from an alternating current, usually with a voltage of 104, but is susceptible of being successfully operated on a voltage ranging from ten to twenty. It may be connected to an ordinary electric light socket in the manner of the rotary fans so commonly used. The machine may be placed on the back of a chair or set on a table, and will prove a great boon to traveling men and tourists, who are often inconvenienced by being unable to secure capable barbers. The whole machine is made of steel and brass.

For barber shops larger machines will be built to facilitate fast work. These will be much stronger than those manufactured for private use, and on both will be receptacles which will gather the hair as fast as it is clipped off.

Much is claimed for the machine. A boy can operate it, and it will take the place of ten barbers. It is possible with the machine to shave in one-tenth of the time consumed with a razor, besides being more effectual. The flexible knives make it possible to protect any wart or pimple on the face and make shaving a delight. The inventor is now developing an automatic lathering machine to be used in conjunction with the shaver, although lather is not necessary to its successful operation.

The inventor also claims for his machine that it may be used in currying leather, without injury to the hide.

A New York concern, it is said, has offered the inventor $100,000 for his patent or the choice of manufacture on a royalty, but the inventor is at yet undecided what disposition he will make of his asset.

Corregan in Long Island City.

..Charles H. Corregan will address an open air campaign meeting of the Socialist Labor Party to be held on Tuesday, June 16, at 8 p. m., at the corner of Main street and Flushing avenue, Long Island City.

..Sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party are especially invited to attend as this meeting has also been arranged with a view of organizing a section of the Socialist Labor Party of Queens County.

CLASS HATRED.

Socialists Do Not Create It; They want To Abolish It—Two Illustrations of Its Meaning.

The goody-goody reformers, sentimentalists and so-called Socialists, would have us believe that Socialism can be brought about by pointing out to the capitalist the iniquities of the present social order. They claim that by so doing we can induce the capitalist to join hands with the Socialist, and the Socialist Republic will be ushered in instanter, as a result.

We are also told that the Socialist Labor Party is wrong in preaching the class struggle, that by so doing we create class antagonism and class hatred.

These gentlemen would have us believe that the capitalist class, because of its conflicting interest, does not have any hatred for the working class, and that the working class in turn should love the capitalist class. This is sheer rot. That the interests of the capitalist class cause class hatred, especially toward the working class, is so clearly demonstrated every day that only those who are blind can fail to see.

The writer's occupation gives him a chance occasionally to rub elbows with the wives and daughters of the capitalist.

The other day the following conversation took place between the writer and the lady of the house.

Lady—You get around a great deal, don't you?

Writer—Yes.

L.—Can you get me a servant girl? Mine has left me.

W.—I don't know of any out of a job. What's the matter with the girl you had?

L.—Oh, she quit; although I paid her $14 a month, including board. She is now working in a laundry for $5 a week, and I, for one, cannot see how she made any change for the better.

W.—But, while working in the laundry she is off after 5.30 in the evening.

L. (getting hot under the collar)—That's just it. They want to have plenty of time to run around at night.

W. (with a smile)—Well, lady, you know that it is but natural for a human being to get as much freedom as he or she possibly can.

Lady looks daggers at the writer and rushes from the room. This lady, (?) who spends most of her time at lunches and opera, wants to work her girls till nine and ten o'clock at night while she is out having a good time. Her class interests cause her to "love" the working girl.

Another illustration:

Young Lady (dressed up to kill)—Oh, my, I am awful tired and worn out!

Writer—What's the matter? Were you out shopping?

Y. L.—Why, dear me, no! I am tired from doing the house work. Our girl has left us, and we cannot get another.

W.—Is that so? What seems to be the trouble with the girls, are they scarce?

Y. L. (getting excited)—No; they ain't scarce, but it seems they are a little bit lazy and want to get out of as much work as they possibly can.

W. (with a suppressed smile)—The girls are somewhat like myself.

Young Lady (?) turns up her nose and leaves the room.

These two illustrations, in the domestic line alone, go to show that the capitalist class has nothing but hatred and contempt for the working class.

The capitalist class robs the working class in the mines, mills and factories. Part of the plunder they turn over to their wives and daughters, who employ servants at the lowest possible wage, for which they take the privilege of leading the servants a dog's life, and, if the servants refuse to stand for it, the ladies (?) of the house accuse them of being lazy and night owls.

There cannot be any love between the capitalist class and the working class, for the following reason: There interests are opposed to one another.

The capitalist class employ the working class (buy their labor power), and return to them in the form of wages money enough to purchase part of the wealth they have produced. The rest of the wealth the capitalist class keeps. It constitutes their profits, their interest on their bonds, and the dividends on their stocks.

The working class produce their own wages as well as their master's profits. They labor a part of each day for themselves, and get a mere pittance and then labor for the rest of the day to keep their masters in luxury.

The interest of the capitalist class is to get all the profits possible out of the labor of the working class. The interest of the working class is to get the full products of their toil. The more profits for the capitalists, the less wages for the workers. The less profits for the capitalists the more wages for the workers. Hence there is going on between these two classes a continuous struggle. This struggle is called the class struggle.

As a result of these differing class interests and class struggle, we find the working class going on strike. During these strikes we find the working class expressing their hatred and contempt for the capitalists in no uncertain tones.

Now this hatred and contempt is not created by the Socialist Labor Party. It is already here, and the object of the Socialist Labor Party is to organize this general discontent into intelligent action, at the ballot box and capture the machinery of government for the working class and use it to make the machinery of production the property of the working class, and use that in turn to produce wealth for the benefit of the producers.

This will make the capitalist class and their ladies (?) go to work or starve. This will raise the working class from a mere article of merchandise to free human beings, free because they will own the things necessary to make a living with.

This means a revolution. This means the overthrow of the capitalist class. To overthrow the capitalist class is a job that the working class must do. The capitalist class will not help them.

If you want to be free men and women, instead of slaves, to be kicked, snubbed, abused, dogged, overworked and underfed, then join, work and vote for the Socialist Labor Party, which stands for the unconditional surrender of the entire capitalist class to the working class.

Strike a blow for freedom. If not for yourself then at least for your innocent children, who, surely, do not deserve the horrible fate in store for them under capitalism. Be a man!

Press Committee, Section St. Louis.

ANOTHER PERTINENT QUESTION.

The Wall Street Journal Puts Another Query to the Yellow Journal.

The Wall Street Journal continues to lambast its middle-class opponent, the Yellow Journal, with the result that the working class is learning more truth regarding its capitalist exploiters. In its issue of Tuesday, May 26, it asks:

> "WHAT ABOUT THE UPHOLSTERERS' UNION?
>
> "We suppose that Mr. Hearst's editorial staff is so busy with other matters that they have not yet had time to deal with the matter of the department stores and the Delivery Clerks' Union. Assuming for the present that the matter is but temporarily laid aside and will presently receive the attention that it undoubtedly demands from the champion of labor, we may further appropriately tack on to it another matter, very similar in character and equally important to the interests of union labor. We bespeak for it the early attention of the New York American and Journal.
>
> "Last fall members of the Upholsterers' Union, working in certain of the department stores of this city, were either forced out of their employment by those department stores or struck; we are not sure which. Anyhow, the fact remains that they were blacklisted not only by those stores, but by other department stores, their chief offense being that they were members of a union. Even assuming that the men struck and were discharged, it is clear that if there be any justice in the vociferous preachments of the New York Journal these men ought to be reinstated, or at least allowed to obtain employment elsewhere.
>
> "What we want to see is the Journal taking this matter up and fighting the cause of labor in this case with the same energy that it displays in other cases, where the question of advertising in the columns of the Journal is not involved. No doubt, these are busy days and there are a great many things to write about. Besides, space is limited, and the requirements of the William Randolph Hearst League in the way of publicity is considerable. Still, merely for the moral effect of the thing and to show that sorid money considerations have no place in the heart of one who, in the words of the organization committee of the William Randolph Hearst League of New York City, 'looms up as the champion of the oppressed and down-trodden, whether it be the over-worked and burdened toiler of this country or the oppressed and persecuted races of other countries,' it would be a good thing for the Journal to pay a little attention to the way in which the department stores are oppressing union labor in this city. In the full confidence that justice will be done, and in no spirit of controversy, but with an honest craving for information, we ask:
>
> "*What about the department stores and the unions of the delivery clerks and the upholsterers?*"

SLAVERY IN ALABAMA.

Officials in Collusion With Capitalists to Keep Workers in Bondage.

Washington, May 26.—At the request of the Department of Justice the United States Secret Service has undertaken to investigate the charges of peonage, or the holding in servitude to work out a debt, which has been made against persons in the vicinity of Montgomery, Ala. The punishment provided by the statute for this crime is a fine of not less than $1,000 nor more than $5,000, or imprisonment of not less than one year nor more than five.

One man, named Robert N. Franklin, has been indicted for keeping a negro in servitude for at least a year. Information in the hands of Chief Wilkie tends to show that a regular system has been practiced for a long time between certain magistrates and persons who want negro laborers. It is said that the plan is to bring a poor negro before a magistrate on a flimsy charge. He is convicted, and, having no money to pay a fine, the white man offers to advance him the money provided the negro will make a labor contract with him.

He is thereupon taken away and begins what is frequently a long term of servitude, being frequently whipped.

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD

A Gigantic Pool and Bunco Financial Game-- One of the Ways in Which the Cream is Skimmed off the Milk That Labor Produces

[Specially written for The Daily People]

The biggest railroad company in this nation has knocked at the door of the Wall street money lenders, begging assistance, which they believe the public and their own stockholders will refuse to give. The shares of the much vaunted Pennsylvania Railroad can soon be had at bargain counter prices.

If you are a stock speculator the stock together with the "rights" at 3 1-2 per cent. will cost you $132.10 per share.

If on the other hand you are a bona fide shareholder, the stock will cost you $121.60.

But, if you are a member of the Kuhn-Loeb-Speyer syndicate, the stock will cost you from $117 down to less than $90 a share, depending entirely upon how many shares the stockholders and holders of "rights" will subscribe, will be evplained below.

The unheard of action of a solid institution like the Pennsylvania Railroad Company offering its stock to its own stockholders at one figure, and to a private interest at a lower figure, taking into consideration the deductions allowed, is a matter that financiers say can never be fully or satisfactorily explained to the thinking investors who for years and years have looked upon the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as the standard of all railroad institutions in the United States.

In the face of these facts, the anomaly is presented of Pennsylvania "rights" being offered as of value when in reality they are a minus quantity. Many speculators who bought these "rights" at 3 1-2 per cent. for the past two months find themselves in the position of being obliged to pay $132.10 per share for the stock if they desire to avail themselves of the privilege. They are, therefore, in the position of paying a premium over and above the price at which the Kuhn-Loeb-Speyer syndicate will receive this stock, of the difference between $117 and $132.10, or $15.10 a share, to the lowest, and possibly even a greater figure.

If a stockholder of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company accepts the terms offered by the railroad company to buy one double share of stock at $120, it will cost him in addition $1.60 difference in interest by June, 1904, making the stock cost him $121.60. The same Pennsylvania Railroad Company is offering to the underwriting syndicate the same stock at $120, which, with the commission allowed, 2 1-2 per cent., on that price, makes the stock cost the syndicate $117, for which the stockholders must pay $121.60. This price of $117 to the syndicate is on the basis of none of the stockholders subscribing for any of the shares.

If, however, the present stockholders could be induced to avail themselves of this magnanimous (?) opportunity offered by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to subscribe to the extent of one-half of the $75,000,000 offered, then the balance of the stock that the syndicate absorbs will cost them only $114 per share.

If three-quarters of the stock be subscribed by the stockholders at the price of $120, with difference of interest of $1.60 added then the stock to the syndicate will cost them only $108 per share.

If nine-tenths of the stock be subscribed by stockholders, at $120, with difference of interest of $1.60 added, the balance of the stock will cost the syndicate only $90 per share.

If more than nine-tenths of the stock be subscribed by present shareholders, the balance taken by the syndicate will cost them a figure much below $90 per share.

This shows the remarkable spectacle of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company selling their stock to their shareholders at $121.60, and at the same time selling the same stock under the same circumstances to a Wall street syndicate at prices ranging from $117 down, so that the more the regular shareholders subscribe to the stock, the more they are depreciating the value of the shares they hold. They enable the syndicate to get its share of the new $200,000,000 issue at a figure so far below the price that they themselves pay, so as to bring about a menace to their own shares, and they will likely find the syndicate shares in the market at a figure far below $121.60.

If none of the present stockholders would subscribe to a share of stock, the syndicate would even then get it at $117, the market price of the stock at writing being around $126. The syndicate would then have $75,000,000 of the stock which cost them only $117, and it would not take a very complicated calculation to show that some of this stock would be in the market at a little above that figure in a very short time. By this act the Pennsylvania Railroad has placed a price upon its new stock, to which level the old stock will quickly be lowered by dealings on the Stock Exchange, and as it is probable that a number of the stockholders will subscribe, the inevitable result will be to bring this level far below 115. There can be no other result under this syndicate contract.

Another drawback to this remarkable financial transaction is the fact that the stockholder who subscribes for this new stock will probably take advantage of the company's offer to make the deferred payments during the year, while the syndicate will probably take their stock at once, and pay for it in full. While the stockholder has his money invested in a stock that he will get a year from now, the Kuhn-Loeb-Speyer syndicate have their stock, which they can put upon the market without waiting twenty-four hours, and take advantage of the market prices long before the subscriber to the new stock will have it in his possession.

The shrewdest financiers in this city say that the company will never earn a six per cent. dividend on its capitalization of $400,000,000, which has as much water in proportion to its capital as has the United States Steel Corporation which is simply staggering under its great inflation.

"Thus perisheth the stock investing public," what with on one side the Wall street gamblers and on the other the Kuhn-Loeb syndicates they are likely in a very short time to resemble a squeezed lemon.

Rights means giving a preference to stockholders of a certain period to take their pro-rata share in any new issue at anywhere from 1 to 5 points below the current quotation of the Stock Exchange, or in other words gives them a premium of either of the two figures named.

WARNS CATHOLICS.

Bishop Bids Them Keep Out of "Socialistic" Unions.

Denver, June 1.—In a sermon delivered yesterday Bishop M. Matz of the diocese of Colorado strongly denounced all labor unions, but particularly those which, he said, have declared themselves in favor of Socialism. He read extracts from addresses delivered by officers of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, now in session in this city, and called upon all Catholics to leave these organizations, saying that their teachings were opposed to Christianity. In referring to President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners, Bishop Matz said that his published utterances in favor of Socialism were inimical to the Catholic Church, which has always been the greatest friend of labor.

He said that Moyer and other leaders were endeavoring to build up an organization so vast and so strong that it would overthrow religion. In closing, he said:

"As Bishop of this diocese I now deem it my duty to warn all Catholics against the teachings, and call upon them to forsake all labor unions which advocate them. None of these societies are sanctioned by the Church, nor can their members be good Catholics."

In relating an incident of the recent strike in this city, Bishop Matz said that while Father Barry was doing some work about his church, assisted by two Jesuit fathers, he was warned by a walking delegate that unless his scab labor, meaning the Jesuits, was discharged, his collection box would suffer.

* * *

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

Militarism and The Workers

"With the founders of the American Republic we (the Socialist Labor Party) hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and happiness.' The question, therefore, particularly for the workers to consider is, in what measure do military forces as at present used and constituted contribute toward that end? Is that life, liberty and happiness which they have a right to expect the enjoyment of under an enlightened and civilized government enhanced by the operatons of military forces? This question shall form the theme of our enquiry during this short aritcle.

In the first place, a brief review of the growth and history of militarism will be in order. Then we will consider the constitution and uses of modern military forces; further, whteher such forces are essential to the welfare of the workers or not. Also from an economicp oint of view whether the maintenance of military powers are wasteful or otherwise, and what place or purpose could be found for such under the sway of Socialism.

The first authentic historical account we possess goes to show that Philip of Macedon was the originator of the earliest properly disciplined permanent and paid standing army. This army was formed of the militia previously employed by him. It became the instrument through which he was enabled to accomplish the conquest of the adjoining Greek States. Thus we find that it is motives of conquest which lay at the root of the formation of standing armies. Philip's son, Alexander, the Great, improved on the methods and purposes of his father's armed forces to that extent that half the then known world lay conquered at this covetous tyrant's feet. History records also the fact that he was still unsatisfied and wept for further conquests worth accomplishing. We cannot refrain from mentioning the fact how much the whine of the capitalist press of to-day accords with the weeping tones of this ancient monarch, when the cry for foreign markets to vanquish so familiar to us all, is heard on every side. The unity of soul and purpose is very striking. This idea of maintaining a permanent trained and disciplined military force has never since that time departed from the mind of the ruling class, be they Plutocratic Republics, absolute or constitutional monarchies, or so-called State Democracies. The power behind the will of the rulers has always been the military.

How modern armies came to be organized and maintained is well illustrated by the origin and history of the army of Great Britain. In that country we have the transition from the feudal method to that of the army of the king plainly told. Although the character of feudalism in England somewhat differed from that on the European continent, still, the main features were similar. From the advent of William the Conqueror who introduced and confirmed feudalism in that country, military service was compulsory upon all owners of land from the crown. This feudal obligation rested not only upon all Knights, but also their vassals, who were bound by the same laws to accompany their masters in war.

This form of sustaining military forces partly remained in existence until the days of Cromwell, in whose time parliamentary forces were organized to oppose the King. Parliament being unable to avail itself of the means of sustaining an army upon this basis, originated a new method of assessments for the payment of the army, especially an excise on liquors, (a new name in England), which continues until the present day. After the commonwealth had run its course, and the days of the Restoration came, military tenures were abolished, with their revenues, and in lieu of those feudal rights of the King an hereditary excise on liquors was granted. Thus we find the source of sustaining the army and navy of Great Britain was mainly liquor; and floated on this ocean of drunkness and degredation her proud armies and navies won their victories, and claimed their conquests in the name of progress, and civilization. It is not possible that an enlightened and sober people would tolerate the enormous and continuous expenditures which have been levied on the subjects of that country for purposes of war; it could only be done at the expense of moral degredation, and drunkness; all her vaunted Christianity notwithstanding. Before proceeding to explain the militia, we shall take the liberty of quoting from Holland's Constitutional History of England; regarding standing armies. Under the head of apprehensions from the army, when this matter was under discussion in 1732, one of the authorities of that time is quoted as stating; after the failure of his opponents to give statutory proof for the continuance of a standing army, "They are a body of men distinct from the body of the people; they are governed by different laws, blind obedience and an entire submission to the orders of their superior officers is their only principle. The nations around us are already enslaved, and have been enslaved, by these very means, by means of their standing armies they have every one lost their liberties, it is indeed impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in any country where a numerous standing army is kept up."

This view is amply justified by experience regarding standing armies, but we have also to consider another menace to a liberty loving, free and enlightened people; which is not in the form of a regular standing army; but in an ignorant, slavish, and obedient, militia. This form of military force was first legally established by statute in England, and accepted by parliament in 1757. The cause of creating the militia force originated from the fear of invasion by the French in and previous to 1756. It was intended by this means to avoid the necessity of maintaining a large standing army. This national force when brought into being was placed under the sole authority of the Crown in England, but was commanded by gentlemen of sufficient means to maintain themselves in their official position without full remuneration from the crown.

This characteristic feature is still observed in connection with the militia, and therein consists the danger to the class conscious intelligent worker. While the command of this force rests with gentlemen such as those mentioned, or in other words the capitalist class, it is a constant menace to the liberty of the worker in search of the emancipation of his class. This reason urges the S. L. P. to point out the significance of such utterances as have been made by Mitchell and other misleaders of labor, regarding their approving attitude on matters relating to the National Guard, and patriotism.

Great Britain being in a measure considered the mother of Anglo-Saxon nations, it is natural that English speaking people should follow her lead in mat- for their country were to be dismissed, the man who did that should be branded with infamy, and he would be consigned to the indignation of every patriotic citizen of Canada."

How clearly this betrays the nervous tone, military as well as civil, and so the military volunteer system has been adopted in a great measure by all these people. On the continent of Europe in consequence of environment, traditions and training, among the different peoples compulsory military service is considered the best method by the ruling class, and so that system prevails there.

The question now is for what purpose are those vast armies kept in existence, whether permanent or otherwise, whether organized on a compulsory or volunteer basis. It is hard from the standpoint of the proletariat to find a single reason for their continued maintenance. Especially is this so on the continent of the America. If through the sins and errors of past generations this grievous military burden has to be borne by the proletariat of Europe, surely it is the duty of their brethren on this continent to teach them better things, and point the way to emancipation from those evils.

As we have seen that the origin and root of militarism is found in the ruling or capitalist class' desire for conquest and foreign markets, so the reason for the increase and perpetuation of this power is used and assisted by the same class for the same purpose. The protection and extension of foreign markets, the control ofthe means for producing the products demanded in these markets can only be regulated by and in the interest of the capitalist class, while a subservient military power stands behind them, and the working class, foolishly by consent and approval, supports such a system. This is how the matter appeals at the present time to the economic student from the standpoint of Socialism, and it is incomprehensible to the intelligent member of the working class to conceive how militarism can in any degree demand their allegiance or support.

At the present time an urgent question with the working class is this: "What useful service toward our welfare do the military forces in civilized industrial countries perform?" It is evident from the tone of those high in authority in capitalist government that there is danger of a change of attitude among the workers towards the vertebrae in the backbone of capitalism. This can easily be gathered from glancing over the recent speeches in the Canadian parliament, where, by the way, a measure is now being passed to increase the standing forces in the country by fifty per cent., as well as providing accommodation for a much larger force than is now required. The necessity for the continual use of the military power in connection with industrial disputes is becoming more apparent as time passes. It was during the discussion on the use of the militia during the recent longshoremen's strike in Montreal, that the Prime Minister of the Dominion, Sir Wilfred Laurier, gave expression to the following outburst of patriotism, which was duly recorded in the columns of the daily press:

"I cannot believe that there is in the city of Montreal any man so mean a man so unpariotic as to threaten one of his employes who happens to be a volunteer, and was performing his duty as such, with dismissal. . . . . I have seen the statement that during last winter some labor organizations in this country had discouraged their members from joining the militia force. I do not believe that statement. . . . . . I think that the voice of parliament ought to be unanimous in declaring that if such a threat were to be carried into execution; if the volunteers now doing duty condition of the capitalist class, regarding this all important matter of what they choose to designate as public safety and national defense. Should the necessary solidarity not be maintained in the ranks of capital on this point, grave dangers may arise, and still worse dangers ensue if in the ranks of the workers disloyalty to the aims and objects of capital take root. The Socialist, however, sees the inevitable, and smiles at this ostrich-like policy, discerning therein another indication of the oncoming revolution. The foregoing shows how constantly essential to capitalism is the military power, and the apalling danger to capitalism that would arise should that arm which is composed of the working class be paralyzed by class consciousness.

To portray the insane wastefulness and degrading influences of the militarism, which is an essential of capital, is beyond human description. We shall be satisfied to picture just a few of its most conspicuous features in the light of common judgment. In this advanced, educated and civilized age, it would naturally be expected that the spirit of barbarism which characterized the dark deeds of former warlike times would disappear, but instead we find it scarcely in any measure decreasing. The present clamor of capitalism for increased armies and navies with the best modern equipment and the inseparable increased cost is an indication of the insanity which marks the system of destruction. These demands of the hour can be read in the speeches of a Chamberlain on Imperialism and Protection, or a Roosevelt proclaiming his foreign policies with demands for a first class navy.

Increase in armaments is a vital necessity to the capitalist system, which flourishes upon exploitation abroad and at home. The overawing fear of the military power ever smooths out the path of capitalism, and the proletarian ranks ever supply the material from which this military power is molded. The cost to the workers of Europe who produce the means of maintenance for the collossal armies of that continent is $1,300,000,000 annually. During the last century the cost in interest on national debt, which was incurred through wars, together with the cost of maintaining the army and navy of Great Britain, amount to the sum of thirty thousand million dollars. When mortals endowed with common reason reflect on this enormous and worse than foolish waste which is tolerated by the masses of Europe and Great Britain it must be confessed that they are a long-suffering people. When the expenditures on armaments and armies is contrasted with that on education, the iniquity of the system which demands it at the expense of other necessary needs of the people is shown in even more heartless colors. Germany, one of the most enlightened of European nations, spends annually two and two-thirds times more on war than on education; Austria four and a half times; Italy eight times, France five times; Russia twelve times; and Great Britain over four times, and still the cry is for more. How true the saying that "peace is the dream of the wise, but war is the history of man." Of the 3357 years from 1496 B. C. to A. D. 1861, it is recorded that there were only 227 years of peace, while there were 3130 years of war; surely this record should satisfy his Satanic Majesty with all his love for bloodshed and strife.

To what depths of degradation and cruelty the most civilized and humane peoples may be brought in the course of a short period through the usages of war is amply exemplified by the conduct of the United States forces in the Philippine Islands, and the unwritten records of the wounded on the battlefields of Omdurman and Isandhlwana, where the British were the victors.

Before concluding this short article on "Militarism and the Workers" we would be recreant to our duties as teachers of Socialism did we not point out the attitude which the class conscious workers assume towards this important matter.

In the first place, we would recall the fact that militarism is of capitalist origin, and from its simple beginnings has been used for purposes of conquest and robbery. The lesson which the world has been taught through this is that might is right, and with Napoleon we are compelled to agree that God is ever on the side of the best equipped and strongest battalions. The so called Christian nations have demonstrated that by clinging to the idea of being so equipped it is the savage and the heathen natives which to-day have to fear the Christians and not vice versa, as the case of China proves.

This being so there is every reason to doubt the rectitude of this form of martial faith and government so beloved by the church and state in the leading nations. In order to avoid confusion in the minds of the working class the most essential matters to first thoroughly understand and upon which to proceed to build the fabric of a sound judgment are class consciousness and solidarity. Class consciousness brings the worker to view all forces and conditions in the light of their effects upon his class. It further will, after a little study, establish firmly in his mind the fact that upon his class the whole fabric of society rests, and not upon the capitalist clas as we are taught to believe. Having grasped these facts the worker can proceed to find out the value of solidarity, the most essential to pave the way towards emancipation. In examining this phase of the problem, he shall discern that apart from class consciousness there can be no solidarity, and once the idea of solidarity, based on class consciousness possesses the mind of the workers emancipation has been attained. Class consciousness will at once cause the worker to drop the arms of capitalism which sustain the capitalist class, or he shall retain and use them if necessary in the interest and defense of his own class. Having arrived at that stage the capitalist class with all its injustice and oppression will vanish and not be found, because at present there is no place of safety left for them but behind the ranks of the armed unclass conscious workers. When that defense is gone their last and only refuge is withdrawn, and with the dawning of the day of liberty for the workers through self reliance upon their own class this nightmare of capitalism with its false patriotism will pass away.

Speed the day when this last refuge of scoundrels, with its militarism, shall be a thing of thepast when through the ballot box and not through the bullet all final differences shall be settled.

D. ROSS.

London, Ont., Canada.

THE FORMING ROOM

Conditions of Labor in the Manufacture of Storage Batteries

(Written especially for The Daily and Weekly People by Taurus, Sr.)

The conditions the wage slaves are laboring under in chemical mills have been repeatedly referred to and dwelt upon in the columns of The People, but none of these articles treated the subject exhaustively. The conditions of work in a battery department of the new automobile industry, especially have never been made known, or rather never written up at all.

Two years or so ago a Daily People reporter visited one of these new establishments and wrote a fairly correct article about the state of affairs in this industry, as far as the laborer is concerned. He described the different departments separately, but stopped short in front of the door leading to the battery department, without touching it at all, presumably because he could not get admission into it.

It may interest the many readers of the Daily People to get acquainted with the conditions prevailing there; therefore the writer of this article will try to introduce them into a battery department, more explicitly into a battery room, and lift the veil from one of the worst dens the working class is forced to work in; one of those places that make Dante's brilliant and magnificent work "L'Inferno" defective, because he could not, naturally, have any conception of conditions of labor in any of those places. Otherwise he would have used it in his masterly description of h——l. It is hell itself!

In order to fully understand and appreciate the labor performed in a battery room it is necessary to touch upon the chemical processes that are going on while "forming" electric storage-batteries.

A short sketch will suffice for the average reader of this article.

Let us show the process in brief on a single cell or element. A certain number of these cells according to the work to be done by a storage-battery form a battery. Each of these cells is assembled from a number of positive and negative plates, submerged in diluted sulphuric acid of from twelve to thirteen specific gravity. The active material in the negative plate is "spongy lead"—pure lead in almost molecular state, held together by cohesion. The "active material" in the positive plate is peroride of lead (P-6 O-2.) We shall not speak of the negative plate, as it is of little concern for the purpose of this article, but of the positive in particular.

When the positive plate arrives from the manufacturer of those plates "the active material" is not fully formed, but consists of different chemical combinations between lead and oxigen, such as PCO and PC-2O-3, and others, none of which contain enough oxigen necessary to form peroride of lead (PbO-2.) It is the task and work of the battery-forming room to supply by electrotylic process the wanting oxigen. To that end the cell or battery is put "on charge," i. e., an electric current of certain strength, or electromotive force, is sent through the cell, and this current decomposes the water contained in the sulphuric acid into its component parts, hydrogen (H), oxigen (O). The oxigen accumulates on the positive plate and supplants there the wanting amount to form PbO-2. The hydrogen aggregates on the negative plate and, as there is no use for it, it escapes from the cell in the shape of little baloons, the cover of which is sulphuric acid, propelled into the air by the difference in specific gravity of hydrogen and the electrolite which is being decomposed. The sulphuric acid, previously as transparent as water, gets a milky color all over from the innumerable little hydrogen baloons just mentioned. Sooner or later those baloons burst in the air, the hydrogen is freed and rises as high as it is possible for it to go, while the sulphuric acid forms a little drop, which obeys the law of gravitation and drops.

The reader, who has patiently followed this rather lengthy explanation, will now gather his imaginary faculties together and enter a "forming room." The door has hardly opened when a fit of sneezing and coughing befalls the uninitiated, for he is forced to breathe air saturated with hydrogen and sulphuric acid gas. Hundreds, yea thousands of storage-battery cells of all sizes and shapes are put up in this room on wooden skids and benches exposed to the influence of electric currents to achieve the end described above. Every simple cell emits myriads of hydrogen gas and sulphuric acid baloons rising from the top opening of the cells like a cloud and filling the room with poisonous hydrogen gas. The sulphuric acid drops to the floor as if it were "misting," if not raining. Hardly any object can be found that is not more or less covered with sulphuric acid and corroded from the effects of the chemical affinity. The air in such rooms is indeed dense with those poisonous gases, so dense that one can almost cut it with a knife.

And in such an atmosphere human beings work and breathe, inhaling poison every day for nine or ten hours (or even longer when the pressure of business requires overtime) and take it into their system.

All the work is carefully divided and sub-divided in order to get the utmost amount of surplus value out of the unfortunate wage slaves that are forced by the whip of hunger to stand such horrible conditions.

Mixing sulphuric acid and water in the proper ratio, handling lead plates and assembling them into cells, filling and refilling cells on charge, discharging batteries to ascertain their capacity in kilowatt hours, cleaning batteries ready for work from acid, etc., and last, but not least, correcting the gravity of acid in the cells to the proper ratio while on charge by means of a hard rubber syringe and a hydrometer, are some of the specified jobs to be done.

Whatever particular job, however, may be tackled, invariably sulphuric acid and lead has to be handled, thus adding the danger of lead poisoning to the pleasures of close touch with sulphuric acid and the sickening effects of hydrogen gas. For the fine particles of lead, especially that of the negative plate in its almost molecular state, easily pierce the skin by way of the pores and reach the blood, causing lead poisoning—one of the worst sicknesses man can be afflicted with.

Let us consider now separately the effects of sulphuric acid and hydrogen gas on the system of workingmen employed in those industries and exposed to them daily.

As to the sulphuric acid, it is undecided yet whether it is harmful to the health or not. A physician visiting one of those halls for workingmen seriously asked a wage slave if the sulphuric acid causes death by consumption or prevents it. The prompt answer of the laborer was, "I don't know exactly, as I am alive yet." Be that as it may, the effect of it is surely painful and costly. The acid dropping down on everything in sight hits the skin like needles and causes extreme pain wherever the fine tender skin is hit, as behind the ears, around the eyes, the nose and all ways of respiration. Whenever you scratch or cut the skin the acid finds the place and causes intense suffering.

The most pitiful sight is presented by young beginners who are not initiated in the tricks of the trade. A working cap instead of a broad brimmed hat allows the acid admission to all parts of the face, head and neck; the skin without protection of vaseline (a layer of which protects the skin pretty well) exposed to the acid begins to smart extremely and the poor fellow uses his hands, also full of acid, to scratch and wipe the most painful places, thus making matters worse instead of finding relief.

This may be considered the turning point, for every workingman beginning to work in this line of industry. Every one's eyes are turned towards the door leading out of that pestiferous atmosphere to pure, comparatively pure, air. Whoever sees a possibility to get a living elsewhere throws up the job at this juncture, but those whose eyes see invisibly but distinctly the whip of hunger raised against themselves, their parents, wives and little ones, have to submit to the torture of a "forming room"—and they do submit!

They have not experienced the worst yet though. Starting to work next morning their faces and necks are covered with red spots that scale off the "human sulphate" formed the day before, while the eyes are red with inflamation. Now they fully appreciate the ugly use of vaseline to cover all exposed skin. Now they see the usefulness of broad brimmed hats as means of partial protection against the effects of dropping sulphuric acid. The newly bought overalls have turned their color from blue or gray into a brilliant red, and break at all places, for the acid has ruined the organic construction of cotton threads. Overalls, caps, shirts, stockings, underwear, in fact, everything made of vegetable substances becomes rags shortly after being touched with acid. The shoe soles, wet from the cemented floor, break or get first divorced from the uppers, after the connecting thread is corroded. Only silk and wool withstand the effects of sulphuric acid and long enough to paralyze it by means of ammonia or soda, before the mischief is done. The use of silk being out of the question and woolen goods too expensive the wage slave has to search those stores where secondhand goods are sold for his wearing apparel while at work. Instead of leather shoes woolen shoes called "clogs" are worn. The additional expense of those workers on account of the effects of sulphuric acid averages one dollar a week provided the utmost economy is observed.

While the sulphuric acid attacks the worker from outside the hydrogen gas works the mischief from the inside. It is a well known fact that the so called painless extraction of teeth has been and still is effected by inhaling hydrogen gas, as it weakens the heart muscles to such an extent as to put a human being to sleep, because the weak heart is unable to supply the brain with blood and they stop working. It is not sleep that befalls one but a certain faintness. Furthermore hydrogen, as inhaled into the lungs combines there with the oxygen of the air and forms water. In that way the human body is deprived of part of its supply of oxygen that was to be used in the lungs for the formation of red blood corpuscles. One can easily perceive the consequences of these two combined effects on the operatives of storage battery forming rooms. It is the most pitiful sight imaginable to see those men at work. The death pallor in their faces instead of a healthy complexion from the poor blood acquired while battling against the sleepiness caused by the hydrogen gas. Before dropping down in a faint the worker as a rule consults a physician, and as a result he begins to take some preparation of strichnyia to keep the heart in motion. A drug store bill of half a dollar every week has to be met henceforth by the workingman, of course, and not by the employing concern.

Many a visitor asks how the men can stand that atmosphere. The usual answer is: "Well, they get used to it." Indeed, they get used to it like that horse the farmer wanted to get accustomed to live on nothing by gradually diminishing his rations. When it was supposed the horse was "used to it" it was found he had died. So the workingmen in "forming rooms" die when they get used to it.

Many a means could be introduced to alleviate that deadly state of affairs in those industries, viz., properly adjusted ventilation to carry off and remove the poisonous gases, shorter working hours, etc. But, of course, that would cost money and would cut down profits, and, therefore, nothing is done in that line. On the contrary, most frequently, rooms are used for that purpose that might be fit for some other kind of work, but are absolutely unfit for a forming room. What does King Capital care? Whether one or more of his wage-slaves throws up the job, or is carried away sick, or dies from the effects of the gases is only a passing incident.

And so it will continue to be as long as capitalism exists; as long as human beings have to sell themselves into wage-slavery in order to live; as long as profit is the guiding aim in production. Such horrible conditions in this and other industries will disappear only when the Socialist Republic is established and the reign of capitalism has reached doomsday.

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WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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(Continued from last week)

WOMAN IN THE PAST

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE CHRISTIANITY.

Woman and the workingman have, since old, had this in common—*oppression.* The forms of oppression have suffered changes in the course of time, and in various countries. But the oppression always remained. Many a time and oft, in the course of the ages, did the oppressed become conscious of their oppression; and such conscious knowledge of their condition did bring on changes and reliefs. Nevertheless, a knowledge, that grasped the actual feature of the oppression by grasping its causes, is, with woman as with the workingman, the fruit of our own days. The actual feature of society, and of the laws that lie at the bottom of its development, had first to be known, before a general movement could take place for the removal of conditions, recognized as oppressive and unjust. The breadth and intensity of such a movement depends, however, upon the measure of the understanding prevalent among the suffering social layers and circles, and upon the measure of freedom of motion that they enjoy. In both respects, woman stands, through custom and education, as well as the freedom allowed her by law, behind the workingman. To this, another circumstance is added. Conditions, lasting through a long series of generations, finally grow into custom; heredity and education then cause such conditions to appear on both sides as "natural." Hence it comes that, even to-day, woman in particular, accepts her subordinate position as a matter of course. It is no easy matter to make her understand that that position is unworthy, and that it is her duty to endeavor to become a member of society, equal-righted with, and in every sense a peer of man.

However much in common woman may be shown to have with the workingman, she leads him in one thing:—*Woman was the first human being to come into bondage: she was a slave before the male slave existed.*

All social dependence and oppression has its roots in the *economic dependence* of the oppressed upon the oppressor. In this condition woman finds herself, from an early day down to our own. The history of the development of human society proves the fact everywhere.

The knowledge of the history of this development is, however, comparatively new. As little as the myth of the Creation of the World—as taught us by the Bible—can be upheld in sight of the investigations of geographers and scientists, grounded as these investigations are upon unquestionable and innumerable facts, just so untenable has its myth proved concerning the creation and evolution of man. True enough, as yet the veil is far from being lifted from all the sub-departments of this historical development of mankind; over many, on which already light has been shed, differences of opinion still exist among the investigators on the meaning and connection of this or that fact; nevertheless, on the whole, there is agreement and clearness. It is established that man did not, like the first human couple of the Bible, make his first appearance on earth in an advanced stage of civilization. He reached that plane only in the course of endlessly long lapses of time, after he had gradually freed himself from purely animal conditions, and had experienced long terms of development, in the course of which his social as well as his sexual relations—the relations between man and woman—had undergone a great variety of changes.

The favorite phrase—a phrase that the ignorant or impostors daily smite our ears with on the subject of the relations between man and woman, and between the poor and the rich—"it always has been so," and the conclusion drawn therefrom—"it will always be so," *is in every sense of the word false, superficial and trumped-up.*

For the purposes of this work a cursory presentation of the relations between the sexes, since primitive society, is of special importance. It is so because it can thereby be proved that, seeing that these relations have materially changed in the previous course of human development, and that the changes have taken place in even step with the existing systems of production, on the one hand, and of the distribution of the product of labor, on the other, it is natural and goes without saying that, along with further changes and revolutions in the system of production and distribution, *the relations between the sexes are bound to change again.* Nothing is "eternal," either in nature or in human life; eternal only is change and interchange.

As far back as one may go in the development of human society, the horde is found as the first human community. True enough, Honeger mentions in his "General History of Civilization" that even to-day in the little explored interior of the island of Borneo, there are wild people, living separately; and Huegel likewise maintains that, in the wild mountain regions of India, human couples have been discovered living alone, and who, ape-like, fled to the trees as soon as they were met; but there is no further knowledge on the subject. If verified, these claims would only confirm the previous superstition and hypothesis concerning the development of the human race. The probability is that, wherever human beings sprang up, there were, at first, single couples. Certain it is, however, that so soon as a larger number of beings existed, descended from a common parent stock, they held together in hordes in order that, by their joint efforts, they might, first of all, gain their still very primitive conditions of life and support, as well as to protect themselves against their common enemies, wild animals. Growing numbers and increased difficulties in securing subsistence, which originally consisted in roots, berries and fruit, first led to the splitting up or segmentation of the hordes, and to the search for new habitats.

This almost animal-like state, of which we have no further credible antiquarian proofs, undoubtedly once existed, judging from all that we have learned concerning the several grades of civilization of wild peoples still living, or known to have lived within historic times. Man did not, upon the call of a Creator, step ready-made into existence as a higher product of civilization. It was otherwise. He has had to pass through the most varied stages in an endlessly long and slow process of development. Only via ebbing and flowing periods of civilization, and in constant differentiation with his fellows in all parts of the world, and in all zones, did he gradually climb up to his present height.

Indeed, while in one section of the earth's surface great peoples and nations belong to the most advanced stages of civilization, other peoples are found in different sections standing on the greatest variety of gradations in development. They thus present to us a picture of our own past history; and they point to the road which mankind traversed in the course of its development. If but certain common and generally accepted data are established, that may serve everywhere as sign-posts to guide investigation, a mass of facts will follow, throwing a wholly new light upon the relations of man in the past and the present. A number of social phenomena—unintelligible to us to-day, and attacked by superficial judges as nonsensical, not infrequently even as "immoral"—will become clear and natural. A material lifting of the veil, formerly spread over the history of the development of our race, has been effected through the investigations made, since Bachofen, by a considerable number of scientists, like Tylor, MacLennan, Lubbock and others. Prominently among the men who joined these was Morgan, with his fundamental work, that Frederick Engels further substantiated and supplemented with a series of historical facts, economic and political in their nature, and that, more recently, has been partly confirmed and partly rectified by Cunow.[1]

By means of these expositions—especially as clearly and lucidly presented by Frederick Engels, in his support of Morgan's excellent and fundamental work,—a mass of light is shed upon hitherto unintelligible, partly seemingly contradictory phenomena in the life of the races and tribes of both high and low degree of culture. Only now do we gain an insight into the structure that human society raised in the course of time. According thereto, our former views of marriage, the family, the community, the State, rested upon notions that were wholly false; so false that they turn out to be no better than a fancy-picture, wholly devoid of foundation in fact.

All that is said and proved about marriage, the family, the community and the State holds good especially with regard to woman, who, in the various periods of development did likewise fill a place, that differs materially from the "eternal," imputed to her.

Morgan, whom Engels agrees with in this, divides the history of mankind into three main epochs:—savagery, barbarism and civilization. Each of the two first ones he again divides into an under, a middle and an upper period, each distinguishing itself from the other by certain innovations and improvements, predicated in each instance upon the control over subsistence. Morgan, accordingly, exactly in the sense of the materialist conception of history, as established by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,—perceives the leading characteristics in the development of society to be the changes that, in given epochs, the conditions of life are molded into; and he perceives the changes to be due to the progress made in the process of production, that is to say, in the procurement of subsistence. Summed up in a few words, the lower period of savagery constitutes the infancy of the human race, during which the race, partly living in trees, is mainly nourished by fruits and roots, and during which articulate language takes its inception. The middle period of savagery commences with the acquisition of a fish subsistence, and the use of fire. The construction of weapons begins; at first the club and spear, fashioned out of wood and stone. Thereby also begins the chase, and probably also war with contiguous hordes for the sources of food, for domiciles and hunting grounds. At this stage appears also cannibalism, still practiced to-day by some tribes and peoples of Africa, Australia and Polynesia. The upper period of savagery is characterized by the perfection of weapons to the point of the bow and arrow; finger weaving, the making of baskets out of filaments of bark, the fashioning of sharpened stone tools have here their start, and thereby begins also the preparation of wood for the building of boats and huts. The form of life has, accordingly, become many-sided. The existing tools and implements, needed for the control of a plentiful food supply, make possible the subsistence of larger communities.

The lower period of barbarism Morgan starts with the invention of the art of pottery. The taming and domestication of animals, and, along with that, the production of meat and milk, and the preparation of hides, horns and hair for various purposes of use, have here their start. Hand in hand therewith begins the cultivation of plants,—in the West of maize, in the East of almost all known cereals, maize excepted. The middle period of barbarism shows us, in the East, the ever more extensive domestication of animals; in the West, the cultivation of maize and plants by irrigation. Here also begins the use of adobe-bricks and of stone for house-building. The domestication of animals promotes the rearing of herds, and leads to the pastoral life. The necessity of larger quantities of food for men and beasts leads to field agriculture. Along therewith, the people begin to be localized; food increases in quantity and diversity, and gradually cannibalism disappears.

The upper period of barbarism begins finally with the smelting of iron ore, and the discovery of the phonetic alphabet. The iron plow-share is invented, making possible agriculture on a larger scale; the iron axe and spade are brought into requisition, making easy the clearing of the forests. With the preparation of iron, a number of fields are opened to activity, imparting to life a new form. Iron utensils help the building of houses, vessels and weapons; with the preparation of metals arises skilled handwork, a more perfect knowledge of weapons, and the building of walled cities. Architecture, as an art, then rises; mythology, poetry and history find support and expansion in the discovery of the phonetic alphabet.

The Orient and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, particularly Egypt, Greece and Italy, are those in which the last sketched stage of life principally unfolded; and it laid the foundation for the social transformation that in the course of time exercised a determining influence on the social development of Europe and of the whole earth.

As a matter of course, the social development of the human race through the periods of savagery and barbarism had also its peculiar sexual and social relations, differing materially from those of later days.

Bachofen and Morgan have traced these relations by means of thorough investigations. Bachofen, by studying closely all ancient and modern writings, so as to arrive at the nature of phenomena that appear singular to us in mythology, folk-lore and historic tradition, and that, nevertheless, seem to be re-echoed in incidents and events of later days, occasionally even of our own. Morgan, by spending decades of his life among the Iroquois Indians, located in the State of New York, and thereby making observations, through which he gained new and unexpected insight into the system of life, the family and the relationships of the said Indian tribe, and, based upon which, observations made elsewhere, first received their correct interpretation and explanation.

Both of them, Bachofen and Morgan, discovered, each along his own line of research, the latter, however, far more clearly than the former, that the relations of the sexes during primitive times of human development were substantially different from the relations existing in historic days, and among the modern civilized peoples. Especially did Morgan discover—thanks to his many years' sojourn among the Iroquois of North America, and grounded upon comparative studies, which he was moved to by that which he there observed,—that all the existing races, that are still materially backward, possess systems of family and consanguinity that are totally different from ours, but must be similar to those once prevalent among all races during the previous stages of civilization.

Morgan found, at the time that he lived among the Iroquois, that among them there existed a system of monogamy, easily dissolvable by both parties, and which he designated as the "pairing family." He also found that the terms for the degrees of consanguinity—father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister—although, according to our conception, there can be no doubt as to their application, were there, nevertheless, applied in quite different sense. The Iroquois calls not only his own children "sons" and "daughters," but also the children of all his brothers; and their children call him "father." Conversely, the female Iroquois calls not only her own children "sons" and "daughters," but all those of her sisters, and likewise do their children call her "mother." On the other hand, she calls the children of her brothers "nephews" and "nieces," and these call her "aunt." The children of brothers call one another "brothers" and "sisters;" likewise the children of sisters. Finally, the children of a woman and those of her brother call one another "cousins." Accordingly, the singular spectacle is seen of the terms of relationship going, not as in our sense, by the degree of consanguinity, but by the *sex* of the relative.

This system of relationship is in full force, not only among all the American Indians, as well as among the aborigines of India, the tribes of Dekan and the Gaura tribes of Hindostan, but, according to the investigations that have taken place since Bachofen, similar conditions must have existed everywhere in primitive times, as they still exist to-day among many peoples of Upper and Further Asia, Africa and Australia. When, in connection with these investigations and established facts, the investigation will be everywhere taken up on the sex and family relations of wild and barbarous nations still living, then will the fact transpire that, what Bachofen still confusedly found among numerous peoples of antiquity, and rather surmised than otherwise; what Morgan found among the Iroquois; what Cunow found among the Austral-Negros, are but social and sexual formations, that constitute the *groundwork of human development for all the peoples of the earth.*

The investigations of Morgan bring, moreover, other interesting facts to light. Although the "pairing family" of the Iroquois starts in insolvable contradiction with the terms of consanguinity in use among them, it turns out that, as late as the first half of the 19th Century, there existed on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) a family-form that actually tallied with that which, among the Iroquois, existed in name only. But the system of consanquinity, in force in Hawaii, failed, in turn, to tally with the family-form actually in existence there. It referred to an older family-form, one still more primitive, but no longer extant. There, all the children of brothers and sisters, without exception, were "brothers" and "sisters." Accordingly, they were not considered the common children of their mothers and of the sisters of these, or of their fathers and of the brothers of these, but of all the brothers and sisters of their parents, without distinction. The Hawaiian system of consanquinity corresponded, accordingly, with a stage of development that was lower than the family-form still actually in existence. Hence transpires the curious fact that, in Hawaii, as with the Indians of North America, two distinct systems of consanguinity are, or rather, at a time, were in vogue, which no longer tallied with actual conditions, but were both overtaken by a higher state. On this head Morgan says: "The family represents an active principle. It is never stationary, but advances from a lower to a higher form as society advances from a lower to a higher condition, and finally passes out of one form into another of higher grade. Systems of consanguinity, on the contrary, are passive; recording the progress made by the family at long intervals apart, and only changing radically when the family has radically changed."

The theory,—even to-day generally considered conclusive, and which is stubbornly upheld as irrefutable by the representatives of the *statu quo*—to the effect that the existing family-form has existed since time immemorial, and, lest the whole social fabric be put in jeopardy, must continue to exist forever, turned out, accordingly, after these discoveries of the investigators, to be wholly false and untenable. The form, under which the relations of the sexes appear and the situation of the family is raised, depends rather upon the social conditions, upon the manner in which man controls his subsistence. The form changes with the changed degree of culture at each given period.

The study of primitive history leaves now no room for doubt that, at the lowest grades of human development, the relation of the sexes is totally different from that of latter times, and that a state of things resulted therefrom, which, looked at with modern eyes, appears as monstrous, and as a sink of immorality. Nevertheless, as each social stage of human development has its own conditions of production, so likewise has each its own code of morals, which is but the *reflection of the social condition.* That is moral which is usage; and that, in turn, is usage which corresponds with the innermost being, i. e., the needs of a given period.

Morgan reaches the conclusion that, at the lower period of savagery, there was sexual intercourse between the several grades or generations, every woman belonging to every man, and every man to every woman, —in other words, promiscuity. All men live in polygamy and all women in polyandry. There is a general community of women and of men, but also a community of children. Strabo reports (sixty-six years before our reckoning) that, among the Arabians, brothers cohabited with sisters and with their own mother. On any route other than that of incest, the increase of population is nowhere possible, if, as alleged in the Bible also, descent from one couple is granted. The Bible itself contradicts itself on this delicate point. It is stated there that Cain, after he had murdered his brother Abel, took a wife of another people. Whence came that other people? The theory of promiscuity in primitive times, that is to say, that the horde was endogamous, that sexual intercourse was indiscriminate, is furthermore supported by the Hindoo myth, according to which Brahma married his own daughter Saravasti. The same myth turns up again among the Egyptians and the northern Edda. The Egyptian god Ammon was the spouse of his own mother, and boasted of it. Odin, according to the Edda, was the mate of his own daughter Frigga.[2] Morgan proceeds from the principle that, from the state of promiscuity, soon a higher form of sexual intercourse took shape. He designates this the consanguine family. Here the groups, that stand in sexual relation, are separated by grades or generations, so that grandfathers and grandmothers, within an age group, are husbands and wives. Their children, likewise, constitute a group of common couples; likewise the children of these, so soon as they have reached the requisite age. Accordingly, in contrast with the sex relations of the rawest period, in which promiscuity of sexes exists without distinction of age, now one generation is excluded from sexual intercourse with another. Sexual intercourse, however, exists between brothers and sisters, male and female cousins of the first, second and third remove. All of these together are brothers and sisters, but towards one another, they are all husbands and wives. This family-form corresponds with the system of consanguinity that still existed in Hawaii during the first part of the 19th Century, in name only, but no longer in fact. On the other hand, according to the American Indian system of consanguinity, a brother and sister can never be the father and mother of the same child—a thing, however, permissible in the Hawaiian family system. Probably the consanguine family was the state that, at the time of Herodotus, existed among the Massagetae, on the subject of which he reports: "Each man received a wife, but all were allowed to use her." And he continues: "At any time a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver in front of his wagon, and cohabits, unconcerned, with her. . . . He at the same time sticks his staff into the ground, a symbol of his own act. . . . Cohabitation is exercised in public."[3] Similar conditions Bachofen shows have existed among the Lycians, Etruscans, Cretans, Athenians, Lesbians and Egyptians.

According to Morgan, the consanguine family is supervened by a third and higher form of family relationship, which he designates as the Punaluan family. *Punalua,* "dear friend," "intimate companion."

Cunow, in his above named book, takes exception with Morgan's views that the consanguine family, which rests on the organization of marriage classes by generations, preceded the punalua family as an original organization. Cunow does not see in the consanguine family the most primitive of all social forms, until now discovered. He sees in it merely a middle form, that takes its origin in the generation groups; a transition stage toward the pure gentile organization, on which, as a graft, the division in age classes, belonging to the consanguine family system, still continues for a time in altered form, along with the division in totem-groups.[4] Cunow explains further: The division in classes—every individual, man or woman, carries the name of his or her class and generation group totem—does not serve to exclude sexual intercourse between collateral, but to prevent cohabitation between relatives in the ascending and descending line, between parents and children, aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces. Terms such as "aunt," "uncle," etc., he designates as grade-names.

Cunow furnishes the proofs for the correctness of the views in which he differs from Morgan on some points. But, however he may differ from Morgan in single instances, he emphatically defends him against the attacks of Westermann and others. He says:

"Although here and there a hypothesis of Morgan may have proved itself false, and some others may be allowed only a qualified approval, that merit none can gainsay him that he has been the first to establish the identity of the North American totem-group with the gentile organization of the Romans; and, secondly, to demonstrate that our modern systems of consanguinity and family-forms are the result of a long process of development. In a measure he has thereby first made recent investigations possible; he has first built the foundation on which we may build further." In the introduction also to his book he says expressly that his own work is partly a supplement to Morgan's book on primitive man.

The Westermanns, the Starckes, the Zieglers—the latter of whom, in his book, criticized in the introduction to the twenty-fifth edition of this work, refers mainly to the first named, in order to attack our statements with theirs—will have to submit, with [illegible]race or bad, to the fact that the rise and development of the family [illegible]aken the course that fits in with their bourgeois prejudices. The refutation that, in the last part of his work, Cunow bestows upon Westermann and Starcke, Ziegler's authorities, are calculated to enlighten their most fanatic followers upon the value of their caviling criticisms of, and arguments against, Morgan.

According to Morgan, the punaluan family has its start with the exclusion of consanguineous brothers and sisters, on the mother's side. Where a woman has several husbands, the evidence of paternity is impossible. Paternity becomes a fiction. Even to-day, under the rule of strict monogamous marriage, paternity, as Goethe, in his "Apprenticeship," lets Frederick say, "rests only upon faith." If with monogamy, paternity is often doubtful, it is impossible of proof in pol[illegible]y: only descent from the mother is certain and unquestionable. Accordingly, descent from the mother afforded the only criterion. As all deep-reaching transformations in the social relations of primitive man are accomplished only slowly, the change of the so-called consanguine into the punaluan family must unquestionably have engaged vast periods of time, and been broken through by many relapses, still noticeable in much later days. The proximate external inducement for the development of the punaluan family was, possibly, the necessity of splitting up the strongly swollen membership of the family, to the end that new grounds could be ocupied for cattle ranges and agriculture. Probably, also, with the reaching of a higher grade of civilization, a sense gradually asserted itself of the harmfulness and indecorousness of sexual intercourse between brothers and sisters, and close relatives. In favor of this theory stands a pretty tradition, that, as related by Cunow, Gaston found among the Dieyeries, one of the South Australian tribes, on the rise of the "Mordu" consanguine group. He says:

"After creation, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and other near relatives married promiscuously among one another, until the evil effects of such connections showed themselves clearly. A conference of leaders was held, and it was considered in what way this could be avoided. The outcome of the conference was a request to the Muramura (Great Spirit); and he ordered in his answer that the tribe be divided into several branches, and that, in order to distinguish them, they be called by different names, after animate or inanimate objects. For instance: after the dingo, the mouse, the emu, the rain, the iguana-lizzard, etc. The members of one and the same group could not marry another. The son of a Dingo could not, for instance, marry the daughter of a Dingo; each of the two could, however, enter into connections with the Mouse, the Emu, the Rat, or any other family."

This tradition is more sensible and natural, by a good deal, than the Christian tradition, taught by the Bible. It shows plainly the rise of the consanguine groups. Moreover, Paul Lafargue makes in the "Neue Zeit" the sagacious, and, as we think, felicitous point, that names, such as Adam and Eve, are not names of individual persons, but the names of gentes, in which, at the time, the Jews were joined. Lafargue solves by his argument a series of otherwise obscure and contradictory passages in the first Book of Moses. Again, M. Beer calls attention, likewise in the "Neue Zeit," that, to this day, it is a conjugal custom among Jews that the bride and the bridegroom's mother *may not carry the same name,* otherwise—thus runs the belief—a misfortune will befall the family: sickness and death will pursue them. In our opinion, this is a further proof for the correctness of Lafargue's theory. The gentile organization forbids marriage between persons that descend from the same gens stock. Such a common descent must be considered to exist, according to gentile principles, between the bride, that carries the name of "Eve," and the bridegroom's mother of the same name. Modern Jews, of course, have no longer the remotest suspicion of the real connection between their prejudice and their old gentile constitution, which forbade such marriages of relatives. The old gentile order had for its object to avoid the degenerating consequences of in-breeding. Although this gentile constitution has for thousands of years been destroyed among the Jews, tradition, as we see, has continued to live in superstition.

Quite possible, the experience, made at an early day with the breeding of animals, revealed the harmfulness of in-breeding. How far this experience went transpires from the manner in which, according to the first book of Moses, chap. 30, verse 32 and sequel, Jacob understood how to outwit his father-in-law Laban, by knowing how to encompass the birth of eanlings that were streaked and pied, and which, according to Laban's promises, were to be Jacob's. The old Israelites had, accordingly, long before Darwin, studied Darwinism.

(To be continued)

The publication of "Woman Under Socialism" began on Sunday, May 24th, in the Sunday People, and in the Weekly People of May 30. It will appear in serial form in the Sunday and Weekly until completed, when it will be published in book form.

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[1] Bachofen's book appeared in 1861 under the title, "Das Mutterrecht" (Mother-right) "Eine Untersuchung ueber die Gynaekokratie der Alten Welt nach ihrer religioesen und rechtlichen Natur," Stuttgart, Krais & Hoffmann. Morgan's fundamental work "Ancient Society," appeared in a German translation in 1891, J. H. W. Dietz, Stuttgart. From the same publisher there appeared in German: "The Origin of the Family, of Private Property and the State, in support of Lewis H. Morgan's Investigations," by Frederick Engels. Fourth enlarged edition, 1892. Also "Die Verwandtschafts-Organisationen der Australneger. Ein Beitrag zur Entwickelungsgeschichte der Familie," by Heinrich Cunow, 1894.

[The perspective into which the Pleiades of distinguished names are thrown in the text just above is apt to convey an incorrect impression, and the impression is not materially corrected in the subsequent references to them. Neither Bachofen, nor yet Tylor, McLennan or Lubbock contributed to the principles that now are canons in ethnology. They were not even path-finders, valuable though their works are.

Bachofen collected, in his work entitled "Das Mutterrecht," the gleanings of vast and tireless researches among the writings of the ancients, with an eye to female autherity. Subsequently, and helping themselves more particularly to the more recent contributions to archeology, that partly dealt with living aborigines, Tylor, McLennan and Lubbock produced respectively, "Early History of Mankind;" "Primitive Marriage;" and "Pre-Historic Times" and "Origin of Civilization." These works, though partly theoretic, yet are mainly descriptive. By an effort of genius—like the wood-pecker, whose instinct tells it the desired worm is beneath the bark and who pecks at and round about—all these men, Bachofen foremost, scented sense in the seeming nonsense of ancient traditions, or surmised significance in the more recently ascertained customs of living aborigines. But again, like the wood-pecker, that has struck a bark too thick for its bill, these men could not solve the problem they were at. They lacked the information to pick, and they had not, nor were they so situated as to furnish themselves with, the key to open the lock. Morgan furnished the key.

Lewis Henry Morgan, born in Aurora, N. Y., November 21, 1818, and equipped with vast scholarship and archeological information, took up his residence among the Iroquois Indians, by whom, the Hawk gens of the Seneca tribe, he was eventually adopted. The fruit of his observations there and among other Indian tribes that he visited even west of the Mississippi, together with simultaneous information sent him by the American missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, was a series of epoch-making works, "The League of the Iroquois," "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," and "Ancient Society," which appeared in 1877. A last and not least valuable work was his "Houses and Houselife of the American Aborigines." A solid foundation was now laid for the science of ethnology and anthropology. The problem was substantially solved.

The robust scientific mind of Karl Marx promptly absorbed the revelations made by Morgan, and he recast his own views accordingly. A serious ethnological error had crept into his great work, "Capital," two editions of which had been previously published in German between 1863-1873. A footnote by Frederick Engels (p. 344, Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., English edition, 1886) testifies to the revolution Morgan's works had wrought on the ethnological conceptions of the founder of Socialist economics and sociology.

Subsequently, Frederick Engels, planted squarely on the principles established by Morgan, issued a series of brilliant monographs, in which, equipped with the key furnished by Morgan and which Engels' extensive economic and sociologic knowledge enabled him to wield with deftness, he explained interesting social phenomena among the ancients, and thereby greatly enriched the literature of social science.

Finally, Heinrich Cunow, though imagining to perceive some minor flaws in some secondary parts of Morgan's theory, placed himself in absolute accord with the body of Morgan's real work, as stated later in the text in a quotation from Cunow; and, following closely in Morgan's footsteps, made and published interesting independent researches on the system of consanguinity among the Austral-Negros.—THE TRANSLATOR.]

[2] In his book against us, Ziegler ridicules the idea of attributing to myths any significance whatever in the history of civilization. In that notion stands betrayed the superficial nature of so-called scientists. They do not recognize what they do not see. A deep significance lies at the bottom of myths. They have grown out of the people's soul; out of olden morals and customs that have gradually disappeared, and now continue to live only in the myth. When we strike facts that explain a myth we are in possession of solid ground for its interpretation.

[3] Bachofen: "Das Mutterrecht."

[4] Totem-group means generation-group. Each grade or generation has its own totem-animal. For instance: Opossum, emu, wolf, bear, etc., after which the group is named. The totem-animal frequently enjoys great honor. It is held sacred with the respective group, and its members may neither kill the animal, nor eat its flesh. The totem-animal has a similar significance as the patron saint of the guild in the Middle Ages.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,060
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
IN 1902	**53,617**

SIGNS OF COMING SQUALLS.

Here are two news items:

Edinburgh, May 30.—Andrew Carnegie has given $12,000,000 United States Steel Corporation bonds to the Royal Scottish Academy to found traveling scholarships.

The other is:

United States Steel preferred stock has come down to 80⅝; it once was quoted at 115.

Mark Twain, at a certain hotel in Europe, on being shown into his room, where a single, solitary sputtering candle was burning, asked the waiter to let him have another candle, "so as to see this one by." The above two items are candles, big ones at that, each enabling the other to be seen by.

When the Steel Trust was started, the boom period of the latest capitalist prosperity wave was at its height. Of course, the individual capitalist or capitalist concern, can have only a very limited horizon; however wide that horizon may be, it is narrow in comparison to the sweep needed so as to know all that needs to be known in order to form correct conclusions. Wide as was the horizon of the gentlemen who engineered the Steel Trust, it was too narrow to enable them to see. They imagined the boom was in and on for good. But it was not. Facts they could know nothing about began to tell upon them. The result was the decline and steady decline of their stock quotations, notwithstanding their combine was one of the leading ones; until to-day it is as low as the second of the above items portrays. A further result has been Andrew Carnegie's scattering of millions of dollars' worth of bonds of the concern in all directions—seeking to enlist the interest of the public in the Trust.

The above two items throw much light on each other, and both are illumined by the tariff war that is imminent between England and Germany, possibly the United States also,—all of them signs of coming squalls.

THE NORTH POLE PARTY.

Like a bright jewel mid ash-barrel refuse, like a flower midst thistles, is the report found in the newspapers of this week, of the latest expedition just started from this city to discover the North Pole. Midst items of vileness—arrests of embezzlers; political manoeuvres; lying advertisements; Kishineff indignation mass meetings, held by leading Jew and Gentile Kishineffists; great detective exploits; etc., etc.;—all of them reflecting the material source and basis of man's actions, and furnishing one way or another vast material for the demonstration of the Socialist principle of the materialist conception of history, this latest North Pole expedition jewel throws out its sparkling rays, this sweet-scented flower spreads its aroma to gladden the human heart, and also to invigorate, to rectify possible aberations of the mind.

There always is danger of a correct principle being argued out of plumb by its very advocates. The denial of a truth necessarily calls forth a degree of vigor in its behalf that soon runs into excess. The bourgeois, or capitalist—that beast on all fours, that barn cattle that "follows the sun shine 'round the hay-stack while it feeds"—having in its innate hypocrisy and stupidity laid claim to superb spiritual impulses, and denied all material basis for its acts, it became inevitable that Socialism should lay stress upon material or economic matters, and that eventually other causes, that act and re-act upon fundamentals, should have been neglected to a point of seeming to be ignored. Off and on, however, events happen that tend to rectify such deviations from the correct course. This latest Polar Expedition, with its purely idealistic and self-sacrificing purpose, is one of such events.

Another is a little book, "Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy," for which the Movement in America is indebted to Austin Lewis. The work is a translation of one of Engels' brilliant monographs. But, judged by the light of the present lay of the land, it is hard to determine whether the translated portion is the more valuable part of the little book, or whether the translator's introduction has not the greater value, just now. At any rate, the two together are precious, as may be judged from the following extract from Engels in the introduction:

"The economic condition is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—the political forms of the class contests, and their results, the constitutions—the legal forms and also the reflexes of these actual contests in the brains of the participants, the political, legal, philosophical theories, the religious views—all these exert an influence on the development of the historical struggles, and in many instances determine their form."

Material conditions are the basis of man's actions. To ignore and claim to ignore them leads to error, or is the product of hypocrisy. But on that foundation, and reacting upon it, is a vast superstructure capable of aspirations and achievements such as North Pole expeditions,—pure homages to KNOWLEDGE.

[The work referred to above is published by Charles H. Kerr & Company, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago; price 50 cents. It can also be obtained at the Labor News Co., 2-6 New Reade street, this city.]

WANAMAKERING OVER AGAIN.

What is going on in Bridgeport just now has all the flavor of an event that took place in Philadelphia in the spring of 1896.

In Philadelphia, the trolley employees made that year a stand for better conditions. It was one of those moves of the Blind Samson, Labor. Of course, it was entitled to better conditions. It, the operator, of the trolley lines, was producing the wealth on which the Weidner Syndicate was luxuriating in idleness. Labor is entitled to all it produces, and the trolleymen were being plundered of the bulk of the fruit of their labor. Philadelphia trolley Labor did not, probably even now does not, realize that to ask a little when you are entitled to the whole, is an act that justifies the principle of capitalist plunder; and that, accordingly, it was an act bound to fail. Proceeding from such false premises, Philadelphia trolley Labor failed to move in the only direction that leads to victory,—the direction of ousting the capitalist class and the capitalist system at the polls. The false attitude thus struck lay Philadelphia trolley Labor open to the illusions that finally brought its demands for better conditions to speedy grief.

In the first place, Philadelphia trolley Labor resorted to petty violence. Brickbats were resorted to. He who thinks the hour for physical force has sounded never will fight bullets with brickbats. The result of the blunder was that the brickbatters were promptly arrested. All the same, they imagined they had accomplished something; the public stopped patronizing the cars. It is a feature of brickbats that where one has flown, others may follow. The consequence was that the public, shoppers in particular, became wary, not caring to go deliberately where brickbats might be flying. And the circumstance gave great joy to the Blind Samson. But he was blind. The identical blindness that had so far led him astray, prevented him from SEEING.

The timidity of shoppers told hard on the stores. It told hard on John Wanamaker. He met with others, and was appointed "peacemaker." What HE was after was to restore the confidence of the shoppers. The Blind Samson did not see that. It accepted the "peacemaker." It returned to work "pending arbitration." The strike was declared off. The shoppers got out of their shells and into Wanamaker's shop. And the men were beaten.

Such was the course of events in Philadelphia.

Such it is, up to the last point in Bridgeport. And that last point is now about to be reached there, too.

Bridgeport trolley Labor went on strike as blindly as did Philadelphia's. Brickbats flew. The brickbatters were arrested. But all the same shoppers have become scared. Business men of Bridgeport are now putting their heads together; people of the adjacent towns are not coming in to buy; they fear a stray brickbat. The next thing will be the appointment of a "peacemaker" by the anxious shopkeepers. Already the thing is under discussion. And when it shall have matured, the same blindness that caused the Blind Samson of Bridgeport Labor to strike for "better conditions," while it votes for worse conditions, will cause it to be taken in by the "peacemaker."

We are about to see Wanamakering in Bridgeport.

A CRUSHING FACT.

Mr. Peter Wynne, President of the New York branch of the National Association of Post Office Clerks, commenting upon the certain high-handed actions of those in authority against the Post Office employees, says:

"Well, some good may yet come of it, after all. This will open the eyes of the public to the arbitrary power the higher officials have over the status of the clerk."

It is to be hoped the public will. What happened is this: Of the total of 7412 promotions allowed throughout the country, 3046 have been cancelled summarily. With the allegation that a "promotion syndicate" was operating in New York, as a pretext, the Post Master General, has ridden rough-shod over the law, and dropped names enough to materially reduce the taxes, that the tax-paying capitalist class would otherwise have to disgorge out of their plunder, for the increased salaries of the promoted Post Office clerks.

It is to be hoped the public will catch on, and, catching on, drop like a hot potato the notion, which the insidious lie about municipalization a la Glasgow, or capitalist government ownership, is seeking to inoculate the public mind with.

The Post Office is owned by the Government. Does not that make it property of the people and for the people? That depends upon who, in turn, owns the Government. Is the Government owned by the people, then the people own their Post Office: is the Government not owned by the people, then the people do not own their Post Office—or any other thing. How is the fact to be established as to whether the people own the Government or not? By the simple process of inquiring whether classes exist in the country or not. Where capitalism exists classes exist; capitalism without a wage slave class is an absurdity; where there is a slave class, the slave-holding class rules, and, consequently owns the government, all appearances to the contrary not withstanding. It follows, first, that the government is here not owned by the people, and, second, that THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS GENUINE NATIONALIZATION IS THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM.

Long do people who wish a thing and do not look below the surface charge those who do, with being "theorizers." But facts accumulate and thereby proofs. What has just happened to the employes of the Government-owned Post Office is one of these facts. It is to be hoped it may open the eyes of the public—of the P. O. boys among the lot.

CHAMBERLAIN "DUMPS" THE "DUMPERS."

The man of the hour in Great Britain just now is the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain. In a speech in the House of Commons, which has been characterized as revolutionary, he advocated the practical abandonment of England's historic policy of free trade.

"Was it not conceivable," he asked, during the course of this speech, "that Great Britain would have to defend her trade against unjust competition, such as that of the trusts of America and the Continent? At present, Great Britain was the one open market of the world, and, therefore, a general dumping ground."

Shades of Bastiat—"a general dumping ground?" It has always been the contention of the apostles of free trade that trade without exchange was impossible and that, consequently, no goods would be imported to free trade countries without a return in merchandise. Would Rockefeller ship oil to Great Britain without remuneration? Would Carnegie his steel? Brown his cotton? Imported products must be paid for in domestic products, else there would be no trade. "A general dumping ground," indeed!

But what is Bastiat to Chamberlain? The Colonial Secretary realizes that though Great Britain was once content to be "a dumping ground," so long as other countries had nothing "to dump" and she could do all "the dumping" on them, all that has now changed, so much so, that the other countries now have something "to dump" and are "dumping" it onto Great Britain. Realizing the predicament of his class with true capitalist instinct, realizing that, in the language of an American free trader, it is a condition and not a theory which confronts them, Chamberlain does not hesitate to overturn the free trade fetich and object to Great Britain being an open market and "a general dumping ground," hence his revolutionary speech and his pre-eminence in English public life at present.

Thus is the fractional truth of Bastiat, like the fractional truth of the gold men and other capitalist economists, overthrown. Ignoring capitalist conditions and presupposing a stable equilibrium in trade and industry, such as can only prevail under Socialism, it ends in disastrous defeat when put to the tests of practical life.

Those economists who were confident that the trust was doomed to failure because it was generally overcapitalized will not receive much comfort from the plan of reorganization just made public by the ship-building trust. This plan recognizes the evils of overcapitalization and has met them by reducing the capital one-half and by providing other measures for the safe continuance of the business of the combined companies embraced in it. One of these measures is the creation of a voting trust for seven years. This will ensure the trust's development in accordance with the views and policy of its original founders and controlling factors, and free it from the fluctuations attending changes in the ownership of its stocks.

Most of the overcapitalized trusts will undergo the same process of reorganization, either voluntarily as in this case or as a result of failure to meet the financial strain imposed on them. The trust is here to stay, and it will be adapted to conditions just as the corporations which preceded and compose it, were, after many failures and disasters. Germany suffered from overcapitalization, but it is now emerging from its recent crisis with trusts second to those of this country and growing in size and number from day to day. The trust is here to pave the way for the next step in industrial evolution.

A well-known shoe manufacturer has announced a wonderful plan to solve labor troubles in his mammoth factory. It is called "conciliatory co-operation." Although the phrase is new, the idea embodied in the scheme is old. It is conciliation and arbitration by, for and in the interests of the capitalist class. The plan provides for the reference of all labor difficulties from the Assistant Superintendent to the heads of five departments, who, of course, take their instructions from their employer, the shoe manufacturer. Should the decision prove unsatisfactory, an appeal may next be taken to the Shoe Manufacturers' Association of the city in which the factory is located. From there it finally goes to the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. No matter where the difficulty is referred to, it is never in a place where it is not dominated by capitalist interests and influence. In these days when workingmen are turning down conciliation and arbitration by and for capitalists with a good, hard thump, this new scheme may prove a success as an advertisement for the shoe manufacturer, but it is foredoomed to failure as a solution of the labor question for the working class.

Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, who is a bitter anti-Socialist, has just given an exposition of the degenerating effects of capitalist parasitism, in language to which no Socialist can take exception. Addressing the annual conference of the Orthodox Friends he declared:

"To-day we are raising pampered sons and daughters, surrounding them with every luxury and idle satisfaction of desire, and they are rotten before they are ripe. I repeat it, they are rotten before they are ripe, and the boys in many cases are sinful before they are bearded."

The Socialist will, however, take exception to the remedy of religion offered by Hillis. Religion to-day is no better than that which it condemns. It upholds the capitalist system, which is the cause of that against which it so vehemently inveighs. It is, consequently, part and parcel of that which it seeks to remove.

My, my! but it is wonderful to note the way those anti-trust decisions work! We were told that they would curb the power of the trust, prevent monopoly, stimulate competition, and otherwise work in the manner that would delight the small man. But here is the Armour-Swift-and-Morris Combine—the most important portion of the beef trust—buying up the largest independent concern at the Stock Yards. This is busting the busters, with a vengeance.

Is that "hitch" in the Miners' conciliation proceedings, which "threatens another outbreak," the prelude to the annual summer strike?

The will of Richard H. Stoddard, the poet and critic, shows that he left an estate of only $2,000. Yet capitalists want to know "how well Socialism will reward genius."

Roosevelt has accepted the issue raised by Hanna in Ohio. It will be strenuosity against craftiness, with the odds in favor of the latter.

The discovery of the existence of slavery in Alabama would be exceedingly interesting did not slavery, in one form or another, exist right here in New York.

THE CAUSE OF THE INDUSTRIAL TURMOIL.

The great amount of industrial turmoil now prevalent in this country has caused considerable discussion to arise concerning its origin. The intelligence of all classes is exercised in the endeavor to find a cause for it all, and, having found the cause, to apply the remedy demanded. Accordingly many theories have been propounded and exploited.

Among these theories there are two, which, by their contrasts, serve to illustrate the situation. The first, enunciated by a representative manufacturer, traces all the trouble, present and prospective, to the arrogance of trades unions, which he claims has forced employers to organize and fight. All that is necessary, according to this theory, is for the unions to cease their arrogance and treat the employers of their members with reason and respect—then all will be lovely. The second theory traces the present industrial turmoil to the refusal of the government to prosecute the trusts within the past year. The result is the formation of countless little trusts, and strikes. According to this theory all that is necessary is to end "trust domination." With the end of "trust domination" the whole trouble is ended. As will be seen, this theory is the reverse of the first, in that it attributes the industrial turmoil primarily to organizations of capital, while the other attributes it to organizations of labor.

Both of these theories are erroneous in many respects. Both of these theories ignore industrial turmoil in the generations preceding the period to which they are confined, and, consequently, do not explain them.

While there can be no doubt that trade union "arrogance," promoted by trust capitalists against independent manufacturers, has stimulated organization among the latter, we find that, since the inception of capitalism, capitalists have organized to combat labor. We find capitalists, through their Boards of Trades, Chambers of Commerce, and industrial organizations fighting strikes, boycotts, lockouts, etc., etc., in this country since 1770. So, too, do we find big strikes growing in frequency and destructiveness subsequent to the governmental prosecution of the Sugar and Standard Oil trusts in the '80s. Notable among the strikes is the great Chicago Railroad strike of '94,—a strike which was summarily broken by President Cleveland, famous as an advocate of trust busting by governmental means.

It is evident, then, that we must look to other causes for an explanation of the industrial turmoil. First, there can be no doubt that many strikes are capitalist strikes, i.e., they are promoted by one set of capitalists against another. The coal strike of last year was such a strike. It was no coincident that made Mark Hanna, the bituminous coal operator, line up with the strikers against President Baer, the anthracite coal operator. These strikes have done much to develop pure and simple trades unionism in this country, and consequently, cause strikes in general to spread and increase. Second, behind this kind of strikes and strikes not of this kind, are other causes, such as the increased cost of living, the intensification of labor in some industries, and last, but not least, the comparatively greater demand for labor due to "prosperity."

The last cause may be said to be the most important factor. Labor in times of comparative prosperity seeks to recoup the losses of panic times. Says Karl Marx, in his "Value, Price and Profit:"

"Capitalist production moves through certain periodical cycles. It moves through a state of quiescence, growing animation, prosperity, overtrade, crisis, and stagnation. The market prices of commodities, and the market rates of profit, follow these phases, now sinking below their averages, now rising above them. Considering the whole cycle, you will find that one deviation of the market price is being compensated by the other, and that, taking the average of the cycle, the market prices of commodities are regulated by their values. Well! During the phases of sinking market prices and the phases of crisis and stagnation, the workingman, if not thrown out of employment altogether, is sure to have his wages lowered. Not to be defrauded, he must, even with such a fall of market prices, debate with the capitalist in what proportional degree a fall of wages has become necessary. If, during the phases of prosperity, when extra profits are made, he did not battle for a rise of wages, he would, taking the average of one industrial cycle, not even receive his AVERAGE WAGES, or the VALUE of his labor. It is the utmost height of folly to demand, that while his wages are necessarily affected by the adverse phases of the cycle, he should exclude himself from compensation during the prosperous phases of the cycle. Generally, the VALUES of all commodities are only realized by the compensation of the continuously changing market prices, springing from the continuous fluctuations of demand and supply. On the basis of the present system labor is only a commodity like others. It must, therefore, pass through the same fluctuations to fetch an average price corresponding to its value. It would be absurd to treat it on the one hand as a commodity, and to want on the other hand to exempt it from the laws which regulate the prices of commodities. The slave receives a permanent and fixed amount of maintenance; the wages laborer does not. He must try to get a rise of wages in the one instance, if only to compensate for a fall of wages in the other. If he resigned himself to accept the will, the dictates of the capitalist as a permanent economic law he would share in all the miseries of the slave, without the security of the slave."

Thus it will be seen that labor is simply trying to profit by prosperity—to raise its wages so as to secure its value. And as usual the capitalist is resisting the attempt. In fewer words, the cause of the industrial turmoil is due to the antagonistic interests of employer and employe growing out of the capitalist ownership of the means of production and distribution. These antagonistic interests have endured ever since the inception of capitalism and have intensified as capitalism has developed. The remedy, then, lies not in the removal of trade union "arrogance" or the end of "trust domination" for middle class domination, but in the removal of capitalism and the end of the rule of the capitalist class for Socialism.

The savings of the wastes of capitalism by concentration are so great that they prove a determining factor in competition. They affect exchange values and, consequently, the price of commodities in such a favorable way that the capitalist class is utilizing them wherever possible.

One of these savings is being made through the elimination of the jobber and the middleman. In many manufacturing enterprises it is fast being recognized that the jobber and the middleman are superfluous and that more profitable results can be attained in the sale of commodities by their complete extinction. Accordingly, a policy of selling direct to the retailer has been developed and adopted.

The effects of this policy are now being witnessed in many industries. In the dry goods industry it has forced the big concern known as Lee, Tweedy & Company into liquidation, and thrown 125 employes out of work. The president of this concern, Charles N. Lee, in speaking of the cause underlying the liquidation, says:

"My brothers, Frederic H. and Robert L. Lee, and I talked the matter over thoroughly at the beginning of the year. The profits of the middleman or jobber in the dry goods business are no longer what they were. They have fallen away as in other lines of industry. I know this is the case in hardware and flour. The retailer is more and more getting his goods direct from the manufacturer. We have looked the matter over and we thought this was a good year to get out and we are going to get out."

Others will have to "get out," too, later on. It is idle to presume concentration will stop here. Already in some industries the question is being asked, Why stop at the jobber? Why not eliminate the retailer also? Accordingly, we see the chain stores springing up in the shoe and other industries.

The retailer will follow the middleman. Concentration will march right on to Socialism, where production and distribution will be one.

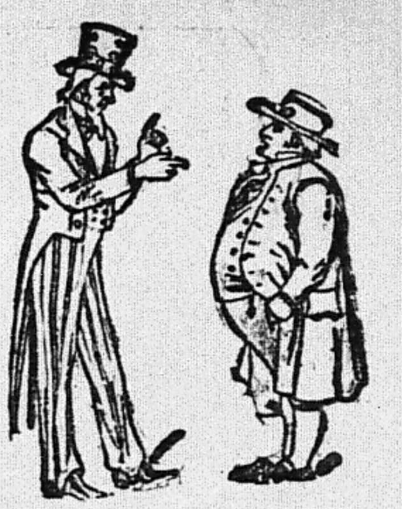
Hanna's act in bowing to Roosevelt's request for an endorsement from the Ohio State Convention, thereby obliterating himself as a Presidential candidate in 1904, won for him great praise and approval. It was regarded as the acme of magnanimity. But hardly has the loud acclaim subsided, when, behold, Roosevelt's friends accuse the Ohio Senator of insincerity. They assert that Hanna will oppose the Rough Rider in secret; that he will have the Convention pass a resolution of endorsement so worded as to convey the meaning that the Convention endorses the expounder of strenuosity as a "favor" to him rather than of its own accord or wish. What is it that these friends would have? Would they have the capitalist class compel its astute leader to yield to one who is President by accident and whose instability they fear? Would they have the creature rule the Creator?

The capitalist class often blurts out of school and tells the truth. Just now every member of it is booming the "unexampled prosperity" of the working class. Up in Connecticut the capitalist class is threatened with "labor aggressions." They say they will retaliate by first stocking up and then shutting down. The news dispatch containing this information then proceeds to say: "The resut of this decision of these manufacturers will mean the shutting out of hundreds of operatives, who can ill afford to suffer." How's that for "prosperity," eh?

The grand jury of St. Louis professes to be shocked to find that corruption was a usual and accepted thing in State legislation. The same is true of every feature of capitalist life. A business man corrupts his fellow-businessmen's employes by commissions, presents and other forms of bribes. Why shouldn't he in turn extend the same principle to legislators when he wants favors?

The business men, of McKeesport, Pa., are disappointed. Schwab will not erect an industrial school there. Such a school would give the town "added commercial dignity" and the business men added profits.

Bryan's renunciation of all claim to leadership in the Democratic Party leaves the road clearer for Hearst to become the Moses of that reactionary futility.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—If only the employers were less greedy, how beautifully they could get along with their workmen.

UNCLE SAM—And you think a little less greed would solve the Labor Question?

B. J.—That's it, exactly.

U. S.—There is John Jones who only has $10,000 in his factory; do you think he can produce as cheaply as Richard Roe who works with $50,000 capital?

B. J.—N-n-o.

U. S.—Each piece of goods that John Jones produces costs him fully twice as much as each piece of goods that Richard Roe produces. Can John Jones compete with Richard Roe?

B. J.—Hardly.

U. S.—What is left for him to do but to reduce the cost of his production?

B. J.—Nothing.

U. S.—Won't he be driven to lower the wages of his employes.

B. J.—Hem!

U. S.—If he don't would he carry on business?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—If he does—

B. J.—He is safe.

U. S.—Nixy. He is busted all the same, although his lease of life may be a little longer.

B. J.—But if he is busted anyhow, what help is there?

U. S.—The help there is for him is that he kick out the labor fakir whom he keeps salaried in the union. That is so much money saved, to begin with.

Secondly, that he realize that he is doomed unless the Socialist Labor Party wins. Because then competition will be abolished.

Third, that he aid his employees to realize that class interests and that, proceeding upon those class interests, they must conquer the public powers, and thereby overthrow the capitalist system.

Finally, join his workers and shoulder to shoulder with them march under the banner of the S. L. P. The overthrow of the capitalist system would free him from the mill-stone of small property, that now, tied to his neck, is drowning him, and he would become part-owner in the enjoyer of the wealth produced in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Thus, you will see, the "greed" question is no question.

Leopold Mabilleau, a French sociologist, who is delivering a series of lectures in French at the University of Chicago, says the American college professor in many institutions is only "a hired man in a cage." He attributes this condition to the fact that many of the colleges are endowed by private individuals who, through the Board of Trustees, control the opinions uttered in them.

When Mabilleau comes to consider other phases of American life he will find that the man in the cage is quite numerous. He will find that these same private individuals control courts and legislatures, judges and legislators. He will find that they control the vast army of workingmen employed by them.

It is quite natural that Mabilleau should see all this. The intellectual, judicial, legislative and social institutions existing in society at any given time are the reflex of the economic conditions prevailing at that time. These private individuals are in possession and control of the capital of the country and because of this possession and control they are enabled to own and control the learning law, legislation and industry of the country and create the men in cages in all of them. As a consequence, the men in cages will disappear only when the private individuals disappear as the owners and controllers of capital.

S. P. Hazell asks in the "Social-Democrat," monthly magazine of the Social Democratic Federation, of England, "when shall we realize Socialism?" Well, Hazell, there is no possibility of its being realized in England so long as the corrupt tactics of the Social Democratic Federation prevail. It will be realized only with the growth of the newly-formed Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, which unlike the Social Democratic Federation works for genuine Socialism and not for capitalist Liberalism.

A fruit company, with assets valued at $1,750,000, has just failed because its capital was too small! What chance has a small, middle class concern, with a couple of thousand dollars capital in such a field? And yet such failures are becoming one of the features of the present economic era. In these days of big corporations big failures are inevitable.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Colorado Miners Manifest Great Interest at Socialist Labor Party Meetings.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Great interest was manifested at all of the meetings held under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party in Lewison, Lafayette and Erie, known as the Colorado Northern Coal Field, controlled by the Northern Coal Company.

The miners here made a demand on the first day of May for the eight-hour day. The companies refusing to comply with said demand, the State officers of the miners left it to the discretion of the miners whether to strike or not for the enforcement of same, but the Executive Board and those who are supposed to look after the miners' interests did not great disgust of the rank and file.

The constitution of the United Mine care about engaging in a strike, to the Workers states plainly that its members shall not work more than eight hours. This constitutional clause is observed in Missouri, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Alabama. The said organization has a million dollars in its treasury. What is the reason John Mitchell does not send some of the money here in order to support us while we strike to support our constitution? So reasoned the miners.

The State officers gave the men no encouragement on the eight-hour proposition, but urged instead the acceptance of a measure which means the fakirs' existence, namely, the check-off system.

But the time is not far distant when these wage-slaves of the mines will cease to pay revenues to Mark Hanna's organization, but will demand an organization of their class. Seven dollars' worth of literature was sold. Nine yearly subscribers for The Weekly People and six for The Monthly People were secured at these meetings. Philip Veal.

Denver, Colo., May 25, 1903.

Breaking New Ground.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—For the first time in the history of this little village up here in Columbia county, the home county of one of the most notorious political demagogues in the State by the name of Lou Payne, a large and successful open air mass meeting of the Socialist Labor Party was held here last evening with Comrade John C. Wieland of Albany as the principal speaker.

In order to advertise the meeting the writer stood at the factory gates, announcing the same to his fellow wage slaves as they came hurrying out to partake of their cheap prosperity grub.

This is a locality where the development of capitalism is plainly evident as seen upon the one hand in the beautiful and luxurious homes of the idle, useless master class, and upon the other in the miserable shacks and humble hovels of the wage workers or slave class. But by the intense interest displayed by my fellow slaves at last night's meeting I believe that the magnificent message of the Socialist Labor Party, "Workingmen unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains," came as a splendid message of hope to a many a toil worn slave, as he stood there, eagerly listening to the words that fell from the speaker's lips, pleading for class conscious solidarity of the working class.

As a result of the above meeting I expect to be able to send a nice batch of orders in a few days for The Monthly People, promising to send in reports to The Daily and Weekly People from the next field of action. I remain,

Yours in the class struggle,
Clinton H. Pierce.

Valatie, N. Y., May 23.

Section Troy Promotes Daily People Finance Plan With a Vim.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The plan of financiering the debt on the plant of The Daily People, as taken up by Section New York seems to us at Troy to be the best and most feasible that could be brought forward.

We are taking a hold of it with a vim. We have already disposed of six $20 certificates among the party members. Those who cannot afford the $20 have started a club of ten members, who will pay $2 per month, making a certificate each month for one member, which will give us in ten months sixteen certificates, at $320, of The Daily People debt. As far as I know, each member intends to carry his certificate until The Daily People is able to pay off or until such time as he is actually in need of money.

Alongside of this I have just received five more vouchers from the finance committee, which we shall endeavor to dispose of among sympathizers. The work that has been done up to date is among the party members.

If the comrades throughout the country will put their shoulder to the wheel and give a long and determined push The Daily People management will have a free hand to develop the paper as it should be developed.

Let us consider this as the Roll of Honor and the stone will be removed.

The Daily People is the property of the members of the Socialist Labor Party. It owns everything about it except its debt, and we join with Los Angeles and say with determination, We shall own the debt! L. A. Boland,

Collector for Rensselaer County.

Troy, N. Y., May 25, 1903.

There Goes the Capitalist Job-Holder and Slanderer, A. D. Wegman.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I enclose the following correspondence, because it is a criticism and a defense of the S. L. P.

I though possibly it might be interesting to the comrades to know a little of the "strength" of the position of the opposition. As it is entirely of a public nature, I send both the criticism and my answer. Yours fraternally,

W. E. Fresh.

Woburn, Mass., May 26, 1903.

[Enclosures.]

I.

N. Y., May 10th, '03.

Mr. W. E. Fresh,
246 Salem St., Woburn, Mass.

Dear Sir and Comrade: I read your article in to-day's Sunday People and since you have come to some rather startling conclusions I take herewith the liberty of engaging your time for some explanations I would like to have.

To your narrative of what the S. P. is I have nothing to ask. I only deny that the platform of the S. P. is responsible for what is happening in that party.

As to the scrambling for votes—can you prove that the S. L. P. is not scrambling for them?—I know it is and in a silly way too.

Can you prove that there are some special qualifications for admission to membership into the S. L. P.? I have been an organizer for a certain district of the S. L. P. in N. Y. and a member of the Gen. Com. and certainly know the quality of the men admitted to membership—not a bit diff. from members admitted into the S. P.

It appears to me that you jumped from the frying pan into the fire and in a spectacular way of which De Leon made capital. Eastman did the same thing a couple of months ago.

My friend, does not your act SANCTION the existence of two Soc. parties? YOU found the S. P. to be bad, the S. L. P.—the ideal; others in considerably larger numbers found just the reverse thing. So the country must have two parties of each class: the capit. class a rep. & dem. party; the working class an S. L. P. & an S. D. P. BUT SHOULD IT BE SO?

Are you acquainted with the recent history of the S. L. P. I enclose a copy of a circular issued by the M. S. C. of N. Y. Is the contents of this circular news to you? If not, tell me what is your ideal? The platform or the men? If the platform—show the diff. between the two. If the men—who are the men who are at present running the S. L. P.?

Do you knew that in Penn. only about 45 men are left out of an organization of several hundred? The same in Ill.; R. I. is pratically in continued session considering the question to withdraw or not to withdraw from the S. L. P. As to N. Y.—read the enclosed circular.

In one sentence: can you prove that the S. L. P. is not morally and intellectually bankrupt as morally and intellectually benkrupt is the S. P.? Leave the "aims & objects" out—take the men and take facts, yes, facts! According to my opinion this is not a time for flopping. It is time to find a way out of a chaos created by individuals who betook themselves to "lead" the workingmen into Socialism.

Please, tell me also what is the S. L. P. doing now but chasing the Kangaroo? Where do they propagate, agitate or organize? Who are the men in the S. L. P. to do these things? You jumped out of the frying pan to be sure; but let me hope you will not remain long in the fire. Respectfully yours,

A. D. Wegman.

40 E. 98th st., N. Y. City.

Address Wm. J. Eberle, 12 Hoff st., Allegheny, Pa., for a copy of the Socialist Std.

II.

Woburn, May 15, 1903.

Mr. A. D. Wegman,

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 10th received and requests for explanations noted.

I am in the Socialist movement because I believe only under Socialism can my class, the working class, be permanently benefitted. I am looking all the time for the right course to pursue, and I pursue such a course as I am able at all times to successfully defend and such a one as I honestly believe to be a correct one. Therefore, I listen to your side of your case, and, as I am acquainted with neither side personally, I will form my opinion unbiased. I shall answer you briefly.

In your criticism of my article in The People you "deny that the platform of the S. P. is responsible for what is happening in that party." Now, I was under the impression I was discussing tactics of the S. P., which, unless I am mistaken, are governed by the constitution rather than the platform. And I hold that the constitution and the manner in which it is interpreted by the S. P. is the wrong kind of an instrument to govern a working-class party.

You ask me to prove the S. L. P. is not scrambling for votes. The definition of "scramble" is "to strive to obtain, eagerly and tumultuously," which I think describes S. P. methods, as my article says.

I fail to see how you can call a scramble the S. L. P. method of ever and always appealing to the intelligence of the working class, and the working class alone, in a straight forward, clear-cut manner, ever ready to fearlessly and unflinchingly expose all enemies of our class; ever ready to take a stand on any issue; always in the midst of this class struggle, pointing to a logical, commonsense, impregnable policy. I fail to see any scramble in this.

Very likely similar men get into the S. L. P. and the S. P., with this difference: that when a man gets on the wrong tack in the S. L. P. he gets tripped, and if he persists on the wrong tack he finds himself on the outside; while in the S. P. he goes on with his schemes unchallenged.

No, sir; my act does not sanction the existence of two Socialist parties. My act acknowledges the existence of a genuine Socialist party by my getting out of the counterfeit. During the disintegration of the capitalist class and the ascent of the working class into power, thousands of leaches will endeavor to fasten on our class, so it is but natural that we have an S. P. for these people to gravitate to.

You wish me to show you the difference, if any, between the S. L. P. and the S. P. platforms. A counterfeit would be of no use if it was not at least similar to the genuine.

The S. L. P. takes the position and proves that the pure-and-simple trade union is an institution used by the capitalist as a tool to fool the workers, while the S. P. calls the pure-and-simple trade union movement a "noble waging of the class struggle."

The S. L. P. declares the militia to be an instrument for subjecting the working class, yet members of the S. P. belong to the militia, and a member of the S. P., in office, votes for an armory without censure from the S. P.

In short, the platform and constitution of the Socialist Labor Party is the platform and constitution of a genuine working class party, while that of the S. P. is a counterfeit.

In you letter and enclosure you dwell on strength and numbers. If you had such a formidable following why did you not appear before the committee that summoned you and defend yourselves; and, if given unfair treatment at the hands of the committee, why not appeal to the section and then to the party at large, in a constitutional manner? Then it would be time enough to be running around with your statements.

When you make statements make some head or tail to them. For instance, one of your charges is that The Daily People calls one of your members a thief, thereby demolishing his character. Why don't you refute the charge by saying, "The Daily People accusses our member of stealing such and such an article; now our member never stole, appropriated, confiscated or otherwise unlawfully took such and such an article" instead of pointing to his long career as a Socialist as sufficient refutation. Then people will take more stock in you.

Your statement seems to me to be directed against two men, rather than against the party as a whole; yet you fail to show any reason why these two men can't be gotten rid of in a constitutional manner.

On the whole, your statement is very flimsy, and, in my opinion, fails to hold water. If, as you say, I have jumped from the frying pan into the fire, I shall certainly know enough to ache when I begin to burn. Your truly,

W. E. Fresh.

246 Salem street, Woburn, Mass.

Goldstein Begins the Rush.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The long expected has happened. David Goldstein, ex-member of the S. L. P., ex-Kangaroo, all-round grafter and no good, has fired his parting shot and bid the Kangs good bye.

Incidentally, David, by his actions, and through his letter has proved what the S. L. P. has said he was all along, a cheap "Peeisness" fakir and a cold-blooded grafter.

When in 1899, after the attempted revolution of the Kangs, the "stuffed Prophetess," Martha Moore Avery, whose first lieutenant he was, and is still David Goldstein, made famous in the "cave of the winds" as "east wind you are a fool," found out that they could not ride, work, that is, graft on and ultimately scuttle the S. L. P., when the "intollerant" S. L. P., kicked them out, then this clique looked about them for a resting place where they could ply their vocations, and where the constituency was not so "intollerant." They found their level like water, in the ash barrel of American politics, the Kangaroo party of many names, with the result that they at once set to work to "do" the Marsupials.

The gang which ruled the Kangaroo roost, Putney, Carey, te als., never had any use for the "stuffed prophetess," or hersatellites, but she forced them to take her and her outfit for better or worse, for weal, or woe, and the Kangs through their hatred of the S. L. P., got the "worse," and the "woe" of it, with the result that Goldstein is now out braying like the ass that he is about "free love, atheism," etc.

To any one who knows this grafter it sounds funny to hear him talking against "free love," and atheism, especially the former. But let that be as it may, it is evident that he has found, or thinks he has found a more fertile pasture than the "ash barrel" and he is making the "Rush to Rochester."

May be it is the trade unions pure and simple, although rumor says it is the Catholic church that our circumcised grafter has his gazelle like optic rivetted upon. But one thing is certain, while David's Proboscis is large enough to smell "graft" as easily as a Buzzard smells carrion, with either the sure and simplers, or the Catholic church he is doomed to failure, as the gentlemen who preside over both of these institutions are past masters at the gentle art themselves, and they have no room for interlopers. David is so well known in union 97 of the C. M. I. U. that he has no show with the Gompers' brigade, and he lacks the brains to train with the church.

"East wind you are a fool," said the "stuffed prophetess," on one occasion. She is right to-day. But to show what this gang is, and to show the wisdom of the "intollerant" S. L. P. in kicking them out I submit the following report of Goldstein's "reasons" for leaving the "Kangs" as it appeared in the Boston "Herald" of this morning.

Fraternally
Michael T. Berry.

Lynn, May 23.

[Enclosure.]

SOCIALIST IS HE NO MORE.

David oldstein is disgusted, he says, by free love and other theories of former mates.

The following communication from David Goldstein, who has been prominent in the councils of the Socialist party in the city and state, and who has been a candidate for mayor of Boston upon the Socialist ticket, is self explanatory:

Boston, May 23, 1903.

To the Massachusetts State Committee, Socialist Party, the Hon. James F. Carey, Chairman; Mr. Squire E. Putney, Secretary: Gentlemen—After a lapse of eight years of active work upon the soap-box, on the lecture platform, in debate and in the press in behalf of what I have understood to be the principles of Socialism; after eight years of work as organizer, executive officer and candidate of Socialist parties; after eight years of study of the alleged scientific basis of Socialism, namely, Karl Marx's "Capital," now, when I feel competent to expound its doctrinal points, I have come to the point where I desire to terminate my connection with the Socialist movement. I am convinced that it is not a bona fide political and economic effort, that it would gain political power to the end of dissolving the social, religious, civic, economic and family relationship which now exists and which have cost man countless ages in upbuilding. Careful study of the underlying causes of discord and disruption which are of constant recurrence, not only within the Socialist parties of the United States, but also in every country in which Socialism has taken up its propaganda, leads me to the conviction that the attitude of negation to all that is fundamental in human affairs—the denial of God—the opposition to the state, the disruption of monogamic marriage—does not nor can it ever lead to a coherent political party with a constructive programme.

The basic reason for the long sustained and persistent attempt to stifle the voice and pen of Martha Moore Avery is that she may not throw the limelight upon the low browed philosophies cherished as Socialist sentiment. Even though Mrs. Avery devotes her knowledge and her critical ability, not to speak of her life, to the upbuilding of a state wherein workmen may come into a position of industrial equity, but the fact that she is philosophically opposed to those Socialists who control the press and the commanding official positions prompts even dishonest methods to be employed in their effort to suppress open discussion. How weak must Socialists feel when free speech is denied its membership!

I had long hoped and often expressed the sentiment that the irrational literature and the economic absurdities spread broadcast among the people of our country would change in character with the growing power of the organization. But after close application to the doctrinaires, their philosophy and their so-called science, I must conclude that the Socialism I was preaching had no basis in fact—it was not the kind which the political Socialist movement stands for. It is my conviction that, were the philosophical doctrines applied to a given country, or to the civilized world in general as promulgated by the founders of "modern scientific revolutionary international Socialism," namely by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, by Kautsky and Bebel of Germany; Guedse and De Ville of France; Hyndman and Bax of England; Vandervelde of Belgium; Ferri of Italy, and many others upon the continent of Europe; by Simmons, Herron, Lee, Unterman and others in the United States—then economic justice, even to the degree which exists today, would be unknown. That is to say, I am convinced that Socialism as organized internationally stands for the entire breaking down of the individual standards of moral responsibility; that the Socialist philosophy of "economic determinism" stands for the substitution of religious principles by social standards of ethics set up upon the basis of mere physical satisfactions.

The state—, no; did I say the state? Socialism, according to the authorities which I have cited, stands for the dissolution of civil law—for the dissolution of political action—in short, for the abolition of the state. These Socialist authorities declare they "have no respect for the present marriage system," they stand for the abolition of marriage. The children? Yes, there will be children under Socialism—but they will not belong to the mothers. The community will be the father and mother of them all—the guardians of all children, "legitimate and illegitimate."

Are these doctrines new in the Socialist field? No! You know full well my opposition to them is not new—I would recall the resolution which I presented to the last convention, which declares that speakers who attack the theological doctrines or dogmas, who advocate violence, "free love," or other doctrines in opposition to the principles of Socialism, shall be by the executive committee deemed disqualified for the Socialist platform. Your hostility to my attitude toward these questions caused you to make strenuous efforts to block my progress on the Socialist platform and in the press. I do not forget the deceitful challenge from the floor at the last state convention, to produce evidence of my assertions. Many were prejudiced by your clamor into thinking it did not exist.

I may now tell you that I have taken up your gauge of battle. I will bring forward my proofs—overwhelming you shall find them. I have for months been engaged in collecting the material for a book which, with the help of Almighty God, I will in the near future give to the public, which will prove to the candid mind (if facts count for anything) that a vote cast for Socialism is a vote cast for the destruction of those institutions which promote and sustain civilization, namely, the church, the state and the monogamic family.

Citizens will ponder this question: Can society be saved from the present economic injustice, which is a stench in a true man's nostrils, by the general destruction courted by the Socialist philosophy in control of the political power? For myself I answer emphatically, No.

Therefore I take my leave of Socialist organizations. I have this day tendered my resignation as member of the Highland District Socialist Party Club, and of the Boston Socialist party ward and city committee. I have, too, tendered my resignation as representative of the general committee of Massachusetts Socialist clubs. I beg leave herewith to resign my membership in the state committee of the Socialist party of Massachusetts. Respectfully,

David Goldstein.

37 Maywood street, Boston.

A "Daily People Lie" Refuted—The Brave Men of the A. F. of L.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—For five long years I have been an ardent admirer of the so-called truths published in The People, the official organ of the S. L. P. I have defended almost every assertion made by that paper as being based on truth, but now the climax has been reached. I now begin to question its assertions and to criticise them for the first time.

Our editor has branded the leaders in the American Federation as cowards. This accusation I take exception to. I claim that a braver set of men never lived, and to prove my claim I will refer to the brewery strike that started April 1 and ended May 21, this year, in this city.

There were 450 men in three large brewers in Columbus involved in this strike. From the very first day of the strike to the last day, when the men and the strike were settled, the three breweries were almost at a standstill. One brewery, that formerly had 18 wagons delivering beer, did not sell enough beer to keep three wagons busy, so successfully did the boycott work.

The boss brewers were squealing. Daily did they ask for a conference with the strike committee.

This committee, with some of the national officers of the Brewers' Union as advisers, was daily in session with the bosses.

Every person in Columbus knew that the union had the bosses on their knees; but, alas! what were the terms of settlement? Instead of the strikers winning they lost every point they had contended for! Not one concession did the bosses make.

The committee, with Keller, secretary of the Brewers' Union as advisor, handed the 450 strikers, body, soul and breeches, over to the bosses? No; by no means, no! To whom and where did they hand and land them? To the tramps on the streets, among the unemployed.

The agreement reads that all the men who took the places of the strikers are to be retained and that the union must accept them as members.

Let me here state that every available place in the breweries is filled with scabs, and let me further state that the national officers of the unions, each and every one of them, were, if newspaper reports are true, presented with a gift by the brewery bosses as a sign of good fellowship!

Oh, Liberty! how many crimes have been committed in thy name! Workingmen, if you have an honest drop of blood in your veins shake off the shackles that bind you fast to wage slavery!

Leave the American Federation of "Labor" join the S. T. & L. A., an organization based upon class-conscious action. It is never too late to get out of the pitfalls that lead you to utter ruin.

Now, then, before I close, I want to prove why these leaders are not cowards. These 450 striking brewery workmen were opposed to the settlement made by their officers. They insisted that they would not go back to work with scabs. This the leaders knew, yet they signed the agreement, and, with this agreement these officers had the "bravery" to walk before these 450 enraged fighters, urging them to vote to accept this settlement.

Think of it, comrades! Is it not bravery for a few men—not more than six—to ask 450 brave, honest fighters to vote themselves out of a job? This agreement has not yet been ratified by the strikers. The fight between the officers and the men is fierce. The men are crying mad, The public is enraged at the leaders, and if the men will vote for ratification the people of Columbus will still boycott that scab beer, and probably what the fakirs failed to do the public beer drinkers will do—that is, win the strike for those poor, defeated brewery workmen!

Yours fraternally,
A Pure and Simple "Union" Smasher.

Columbus, O., May 15.

The Secret of the "Great Wave of Unionism Now Sweeping the Country."

To The Daily and Weekly People.—There has been all kinds of "unions" recently organized in San Jose, Cal. We have bicycle shops "unionized" with as many variegated schedules as there are shops. There is a janitors' "union" that is raising the dust with scabs (?), who refuse to be "dust-ed." We have a Horseshoers Masters' Association that makes all kinds of combinations with the Journeymen Horseshoers; a teachers' "union" organized by shrewd political manipulators, who desire, above all things, that "politics" must be kept out of the schools. Again, there is a "pastors' union," which has recently been addressed by V. M. Trace, of the Federated Trades. (It has been said that the pastors have no serious objections to becoming affiliated with the A. T. of Hell.)

Judging by the nature and character of some of the "unions" which have been organized here, the A. F. of L. would have no objections to the pastors joining their organization, providing they cough up initiation fees and dues. Whether or not the pastors are to be represented by a delegate to the Federated Trades remains to be seen. It would not be surprising if they were.

To an outsider the most serious attempt to "organize" a "union" was that of the drivers engaged in the wood, coal, hay and grain business. There are some thirty or more yards, most of which are banded together in what is known as the Fuel and Feed Dealers' Association.

A committee of the Federated Trades, composed of V. M. Trace and D. J. Gairand, and a committee of the association got together and "fakirized." Quite a few of the dealers refused to sign the agreement, claiming that they were unable to pay the wages called for in the schedule, while some interposed other objections.

The labor fakirs, desirous of winning a "victory," informed the employers that they were anxious to have them all "unionized,' and as regards wages they could make whatever arrangements and understandings with their employes they saw fit, providing it was satisfactory to the drivers. Reliable information permits me to state that the firms of John S. Barnum, Fikes & Rosencrans, O. K. Abels and W. P. Holmes were let off as regards paying the schedule, as these firms stood in the way of a "victory" if all kinds of concessions were not granted them.

There are cases where yards are declared "union" whose teamsters are not even members of the Teamsters' Union! One firm that had an old man employed some time ago who was receiving a weekly wage of $5 with a few handouts thrown in, and who has since died was "unionized." He has another old wage slave employed and the boss says, "One man died working for me and I expect another to do the same, union or no union." This employer signed the agreement, however, and notwithstanding the fact that he is paying just one-half of what the schedule calls for, which is $2 per day, or, in other words, his driver or wage slave is getting but $1 per day, and, besides, the driver is not a member of the "union." This firm has been placed on the roll of "honor" as being "fair."

Most of the dealers who have been granted all kinds of concessions are prominent G. A. R. members and of some service to the Republican party. The Federated Trades being dominated by the Republican party explains the rest and illustrates one method of how labor fakirs traffic with politicians. F. J. Hepp, secretary of the Cigarmakers' Union, and who assisted V. M. Trave and D. J. Gairand in "organizing (?)" this branch of the A. F. of L., was forced to admit that discrimination was shown in a conversation he held with me. Understanding thoroughly well the fraudulent nature and character of this recently "organized" union and "victory," a chal- to debate the matter in an open public lenge was sent to the Federated Trades meeting, but, up to the present time, they have shown no signs of accepting the challenge, realizing, no doubt, they were up against it; besides, it would not do, you know, to ventilate in public the peculiar methods by which they were enabled to "win" another "victory."

San Jose, Cal., May 18. S. L. P.

Pipe Coverers Union Used in an Attempt to Monopolize the Manufacture of Pipe Coverings.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Last March the local Pipe Coverers' Union made an agreement with the H. W. John's-Manville Company, the largest asbestos concern in the United States, whereby only shops that had the firm's label could get union (?) workers to fulfill their contracts in this city and vicinity. This contract had a double mission to perform—one to freeze out the small fry, who could not pay the quotation asked by the H. W. Johns Company, and the other to stave off the applicants from the Navy Yard, who, when times with the Government are dull, seek employment outside.

The union increased the cost of joining from $25 to $100 in the hopes of crowding out Uncle Sam's workers, but recently find tnat the small contractors no longer able to purchase the "simon pure and yard wide" union label goods have taken contracts to cover pipes in office buildings, schools and on vessels with woolen material, which is cheaper, and which tends to curb the trust idea in the pipe-covering business, which was the fondest dream of the walking delegate or "business agent," as they are now termed by the capitalist contractors and their kindred, the yellow sheets of this city.

The workers in this particular union receive something over $4 a day, and are arrogant to the last degree with other tradesmen. But their death knell has been sounded, because they cannot live in the competition that must shortly ensue between the shops that pay fancy prices for asbestos covering and those that purcase the woolen material, which is much cheaper and which seems to be as serviceable to the consumer.

Thus the union that knows nothing but the pure and simple proposition is doomed, and within a short space of time at that. W.

Brooklyn, May 29.

S. L. P. SUPPLIES.

Dues cards, per 100	$ .40
Application cards, per 100	.40
Constitutions, per 100	.70
Platforms, per 1000 (4-page leaflet)	1.50
Rubber stamps (regular size), each	.67
Delinquency notices, per 100	.30

Orders should by accompanied by cash. To keep credit accounts for trifling amounts is a useless waste of time and postage, sent in endeavoring to collect several times over a small sum of 25 or 50 cents.

Address all orders to Henry Kuhn, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.

H. G., HOBOKEN, N. J.—1st. Engels doesn't merely refer to, he explains the difference between metaphysical and dialectical reasoning. Read the passage over again carefully in the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science."

2d. Pentecost and Frank are unclassable in their systems of reasoning. Would you attempt to classify the boarding house dish known as "hash," sometimes called "mystery?"

3d. Does not the editorial in the Daily of May 29, "The North Pole Party," answer your other questions?

J. B., SULTAN, WASH.—Gen. Winfield Scott received infinitely more enthusiastic ovations when he "swung the circle" preparatory to his projected presidential campaign than Roosevelt, on a similar errand, is receiving now. And yet the Civil War broke out shortly after, all the same.

S. D. A., NEW YORK.—Those two strictures of Wilshire's on Kautsky are both justified.

1st. In that work of his Kautsky virtually ignores America's economic rank. He thereby furnishes fresher evidence that, even in his special domain of theory, he is light-headed. The Socialist who would ignore the international bearing of such a capitalist nation as America must be very loose in his understanding of what he needs to know in order to judge safely. And a work thus poised is substantially worthless.

2d. Likewise is Kautsky off his base on the American farmer, and he there shows himself to be a "schablone" reasoner—a reasoner by rot. As a payer of interest on a mortgaged farmer that he is but the titular owner of, the farmer is both wage slave and superintendent for the capitalist. And he is even more than that. Due to the veil of illusion that conceals his real condition to him, such a farmer will be found among the staunchest upholders of capitalism. Any moment light may break upon the wage slave in the shop and he will turn on his exploiters. But these heavily mortgaged farmers—never; they will lay their lives down for THEIR property, as they imagine, for their mortgagees property and social institution, in fact.

M. S., CHICAGO., ILL.—If judgment is to be passed without favor or fear then the responsibility for the late strike in Holland, together with the sorrows and trials it entailed on the strikers, must be laid to the door of the Socialist party of Holland. If that party was as intimately connected as it should be with that inevitable phenomenon in the labor movement, the Trades Union, it could have dominated the minds of the would-be strikers, and given them the information they needed, and done more, if necessary. But the point is a broad one.

B. W., NEW YORK.—Even more marked was the corrupt posture of the "Volkszeitung" itself during the subway strike. At first, when the fakirs were running things and doing their level best to scuttle the strike, the "Volkszeitung" boomed things. Just as soon as the fakirs dropped the strike the "Volkszeitung" reports began to shrink; and it was silent when one of the brave Italian strikers was maltreated by the police.

F. O., CINCINNATI, O.—Journalist ethics in the matter is plain. An editor cannot be held responsible, at least no malice is imputable to him, if he publishes a signed article or other news matter making charges against some one. He is not supposed to scurry around the country and verify everything. If the matter is of interest it should go in, judging always, of course, by the reliability of the sender of the news.

But the item may be false. In such a case the aggrieved person has the duty to so write to the paper. It is from that moment on that editorial responsibility really starts. The letter of denial may be published for what it is worth, or not, as the case may warrant.

In that Father Haggerty case the reverend worthy is wrong at all points.

TO THOSE WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Did you notice the recent manoeuvres of Hanna? Don't they go far toward confirming that report in his speech?

W. W. & B. J., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—Of course if the so-called Socialist party becomes "De Leonite"—i. e., yanks out every crook that shows up as fast as he, she or it shows up—there would be no reason why the two parties should not unite. But then union would be superfluous; the two would be united de facto.

M. A., NEW YORK.—As you will have noticed the papers quickly shut up on the Seligmann suicide scandal. All that is known is that the woman in the case has vanished. He has to be brought up in court for attempted suicide. It will be interesting to watch and see whether the District Attorney will act or shut his eyes.

S. F. W., NEW YORK.—Why Omaha won out with flying colors. Didn't you see the poem in these columns "On the Hop to Honolulu?"

S. U., NEW YORK.—There is no truth in Wegmann's statement about Rhode Island. The vote to secede was put; thoroughly debated; the accusers of the party were refuted at all important points and the motion was roundly voted down. And that ended it. The immediate result was a bogus Socialist organization in Rhode Island of the "tremendous" size of eighteen freaks! This is all old.

F. S. B., ANN ARBOR, MICH.—That matter concerns the N. E. C., seeing it refers to the administrative department of the paper.

L. G., PITTSBURG, PA.—The capitalist looks at everything from the standpoint of the ticker. There is no such thing as making a forecast from their talk; at least not at this early hour. Try and ascertain how the face of the ticker will be affected by this or that candidate, and then you can judge. Not otherwise.

A. O., NEW YORK.—Matter will be in next Sunday's issue.

G. D., CLEVELAND, O.; A. McG., CHICAGO, ILL.; D., PROVIDENCE, R. I.; T. J., PORTLAND, ORE.; R. V. B., COLUMBUS, O.; E. L. S., D. C. & L. B. C., PHILADELPHIA, PA.; J. B., CHICAGO, ILL.; A. F. F., PITTSBURG, PA.; C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.—Clippings, etc., received and absorbed. Send on.

DAILY PEOPLE AUXILIARY LEAGUE

Section Indianapolis, Ind., $8; A. Francis, New York, $10; Section Cleveland, Ohio, $5 Section St. Paul, Minn., $10; Section Onondago County, N. Y., $5; Section Philadelphia, Pa., $2; Seventh Assembly District, Brooklyn, N. Y., $2.25; Minneapolis, Minn., Daily People League, $11; Twenty-eighth Assembly District, New York, $2.30; John Plamondon, New York, $2; Thirtieth Assembly District, New York, $6.50; Eighth and Twelfth Assembly Districts, New York, $3; Seventh and Ninth Assembly Districts, New York, $7; I. Klein, New York, $2; Section Hartford, Conn., $10; Section Lynn, Mass., $6; H. A. Schoeps, Union Hill, N. J., $1; Winona, Minn., Daily People League, $4.95; Wm. Veigh, New York, $5; John Holler, New York, per C. B., $5; Section Salt Lake City, Utah, $4; Section St. Louis, Mo., $10; De Lee Devane, Troy, N. Y., $4; "Stamford," Conn., $3; Section Houston, Tex., $5.25; Section Roanoke, Va., $4; Section Rockville, Conn., $4; John Donohue, New York, $5; Section North Hudson, N. J., $3; Twenty-third Assembly District, New York, $2.40; Total, $152.65. Previously acknowledged, $3,646.80. Grand total, $3,799.45. Henry Kuhn,

Treasurer Daily People Auxiliary League.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 256½ Dundas street.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

Illinois S. E. C.

Minutes of session of May 24: Meeting called to order by Organizer Cox. William Veal elected chairman. Roll call showed all members present.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted as corrected. Chicago should have been credited with $2.40 for stamps, and fund showed $2.12 in treasury.

Correspondence: Communications from National Secretary and Secretary of Ohio Executive Committee in reply to inquiries made about the Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung. The following action was taken: The S. E. C. advises sections to assist the German organ for the purpose of maintaining the paper. The comrades in Cleveland are requested to use every possible effort to establish national ownership, as well as national control, of the German paper, and that the comrades in Cleveland be notified of our action.

The plan of The Daily People Finance Committee was indorsed and Organizer instructed to inquire if sections may take certificates in the name of the section.

The final arrangements made with Comrade Charles Pierson and that he has started on the road the 18th were reported by the Organizer. Report accepted.

Report of Pierson's first week's work in Alton was accepted and pronounced good, which was 49 subscribers to Monthly and three to Weekly People; 73 pamphlets sold, 2 public meetings held, resulting in the sending in of two applications for membership-at-large.

Financial Stamp Fund—Balance on hand, May 10, $2.12; received from Section Chicago, $2.40; Madison County, $2.40. Total, $6.92.

State Agitation Fund—Receipts: Balance in treasury, May 10, $28.35; received from Section Chicago, $5; from Section East St. Louis, $1.25; from Section Belleville, $1; from G. Stevens, 40 cents. Total, $36.00. Expenses, $26.00. Balance in treasury, $10.00.

G. A. Jenning, Rec. Sec.
G. Surber, Fin. Sec.
Will W. Cox, Organizer.

To the Organizers of Sections and Active Members at Large of the S. L. P. in Massachusetts.

We, the undersigned, acting as the agitation committee of the S. E. C., of the S. L. P., in Massachusetts, desire to receive from the above, all information that will tend to the best results being secured from the efforts of the State Organizer, who is to enter the field, in Massachusetts on June 15 next. Localities desiring the presnce of the Organizer, for a stated period (the expense, of course, to be borne by the S. E. C., according to plan devised at State conference), will please communicate with the undersigned, also giving us a general idea of existing conditions, in your localities, and making such suggestions as you may deem advisable in order the better to carry on the agitation.

(Signed) M. D. Fitzgerald.
Edgar E. Chester, Secretary.
Agitation Committee Massachusetts S. E. C.

Address all communications to Edgar E. Chester, 2474 Massachusetts avenue, North Cambridge, Mass.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey.

Comrades Frank Zieve, William Walker, Frank Bergholz, August Edleman, Emil A. Silberberg and John Skemosky have been nominated as delegates to the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

You will vote for three (3) of them; returns to be in at the next meeting of the State Executive Committee, June 14.

George P. Herrschaft!
Secretary.

Daily People Picnic.

The Entertainment Committee of Section New York, Social Labor Party, met at the headquarters of the Twenty-eighth Assembly District, 501 East Eighty-second street, New York, on Tuesday evening, May 26, for the purpose of taking in hand the necessary arrangements for the grand picnic to be held on July 4, 1903, at Glendale Schuetzen Park, Glendale, L. I., to celebrate the third anniversary of The Daily People. Louis Kobel was elected as chairman and J. Scherer as temporary secretary.

The Organizer of the Section reported that tickets for the picnic have been printed and most of the subdivisions have received them to sell in their respective localities. Those subdivision that have not yet received them can procure the same at the office of the Organizer, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

It was decided to engage Pochland's Band to furnish music for the occasion at the rate paid last year.

It was also decided as at previous picnics to award prizes for bowling and women's and children's games.

The election of a financial secretary was laid over until the next meeting, which will be held on Tuesday evening, June 2, 1903, at The Daily People Building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

J. Scherer, Secretary.

GET YOUR OCEAN STEAMSHIP TICKETS FROM J. A. BARRON, PAULI BUILDING, SCRANTON, PA.

Call for General Vote.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party:

Greeting—Your N. E. C. received from Section Everett, Mass., the below proposition for a general vote to amend the party constitution as set forth. The proposition has the indorsement of the required number of Sections called for by the constitution, and it is herewith submitted to the party sections for such amendments as may be offered. Under the provision of Art. XI., Sec. 1, all amendments must be made within five weeks after date of this call, i. e., Saturday, July 4, 1903:

PREAMBLE AND PROPOSITION.

Realizing that, in order to bring about the emancipation of the wage-working class, the Socialist Labor Party must rest its principles and tactics on a scientific and unshakable foundation, and, having this point in view, Section Everett lays before you the following facts and asks you to give them your earnest consideration. The class-conscious members of the wage-working class have found by bitter experience, as well as observation, that, on the economic field, their chances against those of the capitalist class in the form of lockouts, strikes, boycotts and blacklisting are nil. We conclude from this, their weapons being useless, trade unions themselves are useless. Therefore, it is a waste of time to attempt to check the development of capitalism. The purpose of trade unions to stay capitalist development, places them in the same category with reform movements. Therefore, in order to bring this matter to a referendum vote of the party, in acordance with Art. V., Sec. 7, part h, of the National Constitution, we ask your indorsement of the following:

"Whereas, an alliance with a reform organization manifestly ignores the revolutionary principles of the Socialist Labor Party, resulting in a loss of prestige and inevitably leading to the downfall of the party, and,

"Whereas, recent reports from this and other countries have shown the fallacy of alliances with trade unions.

"We therefore call upon you to indorse the following proposition to amend the constitution:

"That part K, of Sec. 7, Art. 5, and also Sec. 6, of Art. 7, be stricken out and the following section be inserted under article 2:

"'There shall be no alliance between the Socialist Labor Party and the S. T. & L. A., or any other economic organization.'

"Section Everett, S. L. P.
"Louis H. Englehardt, Organizer,
"141 Broadway, Everett, Mass."

The points presented, when submitted to a vote, would have to be put as follows:

QUESTIONS TO BE VOTED UPON.

1. Shall Art. V, Sec. 7, part k, be stricken ou?

(The said part k orders the N. E. C. to call for nominations for delegates to represent the S. L. P. at the National Conventions of the S. T. & L. A.)

2. Shall Art. 7, Sec. 6, be stricken out?

(Said Section 6, Art. 7, provides that the National organization of the S. T. & L. A. may be represented in the National Convention of the S. L. P. by three fraternal delegates having the qualifications of regular party delegates.)

3. Shall there be added to Art. 11 a Section (Sec. 21) to read: "There shall be no alliance between the Socialist Labor Party and the S. T. & L. A., or any other economic organization"?

The following Sections have indorsed the above proposition: Minneapolis, Minn.; Essex County, N. J.; Patten, Pa.; Somerville, Mass.; Albany County, N. Y.; Lincoln, Neb.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

Henry Kuhn, National Sec.
New York, May 30, 1903.

Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung's Fund.

Section St. Paul, Minn., $3; Stonington, Conn., per Theo. Seimer, $5.25; John Plamondon, New York, $1; N. Zolinsky, New York, $1; Twenty-eighth Assembly District, New York, $1.70; Thirtieth Assembly District, New York, $5.10; Section San Antonio, Tex., $5.15; Thos. Davis, New York, 50c.; Eighth and Twelfth Assembly Districts, New York, $4; Thomas Paine Literary Society, New York, $3; J. Deitrich, Jr., New York, 50c.; J. Kavanagh, New York, $1. Total, $31.20. Previously acknowledged, $155.30. Grand total, $186.50.

NOTE.—All further donations to this fund should be sent direct to the office of the Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, 193 Champlain street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Henry Kuhn,
National Secretary.

One Day's Wages Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$30.50
May 18, H. O'Neil, Providence, R.I.	3.00
May 20, R. Haas, 8 A. D., City	2.00
May 20, Hoepher & Anderson, 34 A. D., City	3.00
May 21, O. Linetzky, Brooklyn	1.50
May 21, J. Wishnak, Brooklyn	2.00
May 23, L. Jacobson, City	2.00
May 23, J. Zimmel, City	2.50
May 25, D. Daley, Lawrence, Mass.	1.50
Total	$48.00

Ohio State Executive Committee.

Received on pledge for $425 fund from—

Henry Piper, Geneva, Ohio	$2.50
Section Cleveland, Ohio	2.01
M. Sullivan, Cleveland, Ohio	3.00
Total	$7.51

S. T. & L. A. NOTICES.

G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

Regular meeting of the General Executive Board was held Thursday evening, May 28, at 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, New York City.

Meeting was called to order at eight o'clock and Comrade Charles C. Crawford elected chairman.

Members present, Gilhaus, Crawford, Kinneally, Bartel, Kopp and French; absent, Olsen, without excuse.

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

Financil reports of General Secretary and treasurer read, received, and placed on file.

General Secretary reported on agitation being carried on in Bayonne by Section South Hudson S. L. P., N. J., for the S. T. & L. A.; several thousand manifestos having been distributed and a meeting had been arranged for Saturday, June 6, at Twenty-second street and Bayonne to be addressed by Comrades Corregan, Kinneally, Campbell, Brower, Oakes and others.

Communications. From Comrade Cunningham, organizer of Section Erie, Pa., on the organization of a Painters' L. A., with a request that a speaker be sent to Erie on either June 6 or 10.

Action, resolved that the Secretary be directed to arrange for a speaker going there on June 10.

From D. A. 17 on the progressive work being done by the D. A among the Textile workers in Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut, with application for charters for local alliances. Received and action on applications for charters laid over until new business.

From the organizations of Textile Workers in Maine, with a report showing a heauthy growth of the movement in the textile industry of the State of Maine, with an application for a charter for a District Alliance.

Received and action deferred.

From the Agitation Committee of D. A. 4, Essex County, New Jersey, asking for an English and a Jewish speaker. Action, received and Secretary directed to furnish the speakers asked for.

From Comrade Fellerman, organizer of D. A. 21, Hartford, Conn., on the healthy growth of L. A.'s 307 and 379, especially L. A. 379 which is admitting members at every meeting.

From L. A. 368, Plymouth, Mass., with a report of the L. A. showing that the local is doing very well and holding its own.

From L. A. 378 on local work of agitation.

From the new District Alliance in Maine, with a report from the organization's connected and a list of new officers elected by the district Received and filed.

From Comrade J. U. Billings, Grand Junction, Colo., member at large, with a report of the work being done for the alliance in the far West.

From Carl Starkenberg, organizer of Section Denver, Colo., S. L. P., giving notice that E. O. Cochrane has been expelled from the S. L. P. for violation of Article 2 Section 6; the members of the alliance will take note that the said E. O. Cochrane stands expelled from the S. T. & L. A. by the action of the S. L. P.

Carl Starkenberg also made application for membership at large in the S. T. & L. A.

Action, Carl Starkenberg elected a member at large.

Charters granted to the following organizations:

Loom Fixers' Alliance, Woonsocket, R. I.; Painters' Alliance, Erie, Pa., and Builders and Sewers' Union, Woonsocket, R. I.; also Textile District Alliance, Waterville, Maine.

After other routine business on the work of the organization was transacted the meeting adjourned.

John J. Kinneally,
General Secretary.

Open Air Meetings of Section Chicago.

June 9. North avenue and Orchard.
June 11. Milwaukee and Paulina.
June 13. Sixty-third and Halstead.
June 15. Clark and Walton Place.
June 17. Halstead and Maxwell.
June 19. Madison and Jefferson.
June 22. Clark and Erie.
June 24. Milwaukee and Paulina
June 26. Halstead and Maxwell
June 27. Ninety-second and Commercial.
June 30. Madison and Green

These meetings will start at eight o'clock promptly. Readers of The Daily People are invited to attend these meetings and get in touch with the section.

Party members are urged to attend and help with the distribution of literature and solicit subscriptions.

August F. Fiedler,
Organizer.

Rochester Readers, Attention.

The Socialist Labor Party will hold a picnic and prize bowling contest at Engleburg, Rifle Range, Sunday afternoon, June 14,

Tickets, 25 cents; good for refreshment checks on the ground.

Cincinnati, Attention.

Section Cincinnati meets at Workman's Hall, room 16, Walnut street, between Thirteenth and Allison streets. Comrades and sympathizers are invited to propaganda meetings held every Friday night at 8 p. m. Literature and party papers sold.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

RACE CONFLICTS

And Class Conflicts—Kishineff Massacres vs. Wardner Bull Pens.

The meeting held last Wednesday night at Carnegie Hall, "under Christian auspices," to protest against the atrocities at Kishineff, teaches an object lesson, which the holders of the meeting surely did not mean to call attention to, and, perhaps, are themselves ignorant of.

While the holding of that meeting in itself—aside from any possibly impure motives which may have prompted it—was a very noble act, indeed, but when you come to consider some of the individuals who took part in it, the thing might appear more as an act of hypocricy than of nobility. Here is an instance: Amongst the speakers who denounced the murders at Kishineff was ex-President Grover Cleveland, and in connection with this speaker the following question suggests itself: "How is it that the same Grover Cleveland who manifested such brutality, lawlessness and heartlessness in 1894, is so noble, law-abiding and kind-hearted in 1903?

In 1894, Cleveland, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, was brutal enough to send federal troops to Chicago in order to break the strike of the railway employes who simply wanted to improve their condition. He was lawless enough to send those troops against the expressed protest of Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, who had the State Militia ready for the same purpose, and who was the only man with authority to demand federal troops from the President. He was heartless, for while the troops he sent were to "keep order and afford protection to the railroad companies," they deliberately and cold-bloodedly shot down in the streets of Chicago peaceful strikers and other citizens who had, in a lawful manner, expressed sympathy for the strikers. This action received the approval of Cleveland, who allowed the criminals to go unpunished.

How, then, can this very same Cleveland appear at a public meeting and condemn the murders committed at Kishineff by a mob, and for which the Government disclaims responsibility?

Such conduct on the part of Cleveland and others like himself, would seem contradictory; but it is not; it is the difference between the class-struggle and the race-struggle, that brings about this difference in their attitudes.

The readers of The Daily People are aware that in 1894 we had a working class Kishineff in our own "Glorious Republic," namely, in the State of Idaho. Wardner was its American name. It was in every way worse than the Russian Kishineff.

The Russian Kishineff had its anti-Semitic paper "Besarabetz" to calumniate and slander the Jews; the American Kishineff Wardner, had a number of anti-Labor "Bessarabetzes" to calumniate and slander the workingmen.

The Russian Kishineff had its anti-Semitic Governor, Von Raaben, himself a Christian, and, therefore, no traitor to his victims; our own Kishineff, Wardner, had its anti-Labor Governor, Steunenberg, himself an honorary member of the International Typographical Union, and, therefore, a Judas and a burning disgrace to his victims.

In Russia, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Von Plehve, sent secret orders to Governor Von Raaben not to use force against the rioters, thereby assisting in the riot, of the coming of which the government was fully aware early enough to prevent it—these orders are officially denied because the government recognizes and feels its disgrace. In America, Von Raaben-Steunenberg, of our own Bessarabia-Idaho, publicly demanded from the President of the United States to send him military, and General Merriam was sent by President McKinley with power to imprison, maim, kill and destroy everybody and everything that showed signs of a working class spirit.

In the Russian Kishineff, the rioters tortured, killed their victims, outraged girls of the tenderest age before the eyes of their parents, and robbed, pillaged and destroyed all that came under their hands for three long days, but when their wild passions were satiated they ceased. In our own Kishineff, Wardner, and all other parts of Shoshone County, the victims were tortured for many long months in the terrible Bull Pen, deprived of their liberties and all other rights as American citizens, without any cause or process of law; their wives and daughters insulted and disgraced before their own eyes by rough and brutal soldiers.

In the Russian Kishineff, if a Jew had the good fortune to escape he was safe; in our own Kishineff, Shoshone County, if a striking miner crossed the State line and came into the neighboring State of Montana, though innocent of any crime, he was followed into that State, captured, and forcibly brought back to the American Kishineff without even the formality of extradition proceedings, there to be imprisoned in the Bull Pen.

In Russia, thousands of miles away, on the other side of the Atlantic, there reigns over the press a brutal censor who blue-pencils every word that displeases him; still within a comparatively short time the terrible news of Kishineff reached us here, as well as the entire civilized world, and we soon rose in indignation against the perpetrators of that fiendish crime. In our own land we know of no censorship; our newspapers have agencies in every nook and corner of the country; they report instantly and minutely every cat show or prize fight that takes place at the other end of the land; they report, with all details even such things that have not happened at all; still, it took many months before the atrocities at the American Kishineff were made known to the world. And for what was made known we have to thank the S. L. P. press which has not these means and facilities at its disposal as has the modern capitalist press.

In the Russian Kishineff the list of the victims is being carefully kept, and every new victim helps to increase the indignation of the civilized world; in our own American Kishineff the death of Mike Devine was kept secret until the Socialist Labor Party became aware of it, and the complete list of the victims will perhaps never be known.

All that seems to be very contradictory, but again we find it explained in the difference between the race-conflicts and class-conflicts.

Race or creed-conflicts, except in isolated cases, where the capitalists find it a means of keeping the workingmen separated, are constantly vanishing with the growth of capitalism, because they do not promote the interests of the capitalist class, which is itself international and cosmopolitan; but class-conflicts mean everything for the interests of the capitalist class. When the capitalist class comes in conflict with the working class, the individuals of that class lose all human feelings, as far as the individuals of the working class are concerned; it then becomes a matter of self-preservation for them and of keeping the enemy down.

The class feeling, in time of conflict, kills in the capitalist all feeling for a fellow human being.

President McKinley, in his private life, may, perhaps, have been so kind-hearted that he would not be able to see a fellow human being suffer. He would be the first to render him any possible help; but in the striking miners of Idaho he saw rebels against the rule and power of his class, and there he was, McKinley, the official head of the capitalist class of this country, and he had to come to the rescue of his class.

That is also the explanation of Cleveland's conduct in Chicago in 1894. And, therefore, when it came to protest against crimes like his own committed because of race-prejudice, as it is generally accepted, Cleveland could, without inconsistency, join in that protest.

The class-struggle—between the capitalist and the working classes—makes beasts out of men. Only after that struggle will have been over will all men be useful members of society, as the causes for killing the good in them and the calling forth of the bad will have disappeared.

Now, under a society divided in a capitalist class and a working class, what is right for the working class is wrong for the capitalist class; what is true for the working class is false for the capitalist class, because everything is viewed from the point of view of the interests of the class. Under Socialism, right, wrong, truth, falsehood—each will have but one meaning for all, for they will concern a united society with identical interests, and not, as now, a divided society with opposite interests.

J. S.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

July 1, the third birthday of The Daily People, is drawing near. The youngster has quite a number of godfathers distributed all over the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Some of these have promised him a present for his birthday, but many have not indicated as to what they will do. Indications along that line are quite acceptable, particularly if the promise is followed by the deed. The One Day's Wages Brigade will stand some additions. Affairs arranged on or about that date, the proceeds to go to The Daily People, will also be helpful.

We desire to call the attention of the comrades of New York and Brooklyn to the large number of Sunday Peoples that were sold on the street in the First, Third and Fifth Assembly Districts last Sunday. If the comrades in the other districts in New York and Brooklyn will take a hand in this matter the circulation of The Sunday People can be greatly increased. Papers can be gotten in the basement of The Daily People building before 7 o'clock Sunday mornings.

The edition of "What Means This Strike," issued during last campaign, is exhausted, but a 10,000 edition will be printed this week in the Buzz Saw Series. "Erin's Hope" and "The Religion of Capital" are at the bindery and will also be ready for delivery this week.

The Yiddish "What Means This Strike," which was published by the Labor News Company for the Socialist Literature Club, should be a ready seller where there is a Jewish population. Price 5 cents.

Charles Pierson, who is on an agitation tour in Illinois, is holding open air meetings, pushing the Party Press, etc. In Alton, Ills., he secured 49 Monthly and 3 Weekly People subscriptions, and sold 73 books.

Frank Jordan will start on a tour through the State of Massachusetts in a few days in behalf of the Party Press.

In Woburn, Mass., the section has started a contest among the boys of that city. The one securing the largest number of subscriptions is to receive a baseball set.

Comrade Bohmbach, of Boston, was heard from this week with eight subscribers to the Weekly and two to the Monthly. While this is a good showing for Comrade Bohmbach, it is a poor showing for Boston.

A sympathizer in Colorado Springs, Colo., sends in a list of ten Monthly subscribers. Let other sympathizers go and do likewise.

Comrade Kriz, of Duluth, Minn., sends in four Weekly subs., and states that the Party organization there will soon begin a systematic campaign for the Weekly and Monthly People. This is what should be done in all sections. Systematic work will tell in the long run.

Comrade Markley, of Braddock, Pa., orders a bundle of one thousand Monthlies of the May number for distribution. More bundle orders would be welcome.

Comrade Marx, of New London, Conn., is in line again this week with ten Monthly subs. He is demonstrating right along what can be done by hundreds of other comrades. As far as we know, he does not possess any more natural qualifications than others for this work; he realizes that work must be done and accordingly, goes to work. To those who are not doing anything for the Party Press we wish to divulge the secret of his success. It is this: go to work.

Comrade Devine, of North Abington, Mass., sends in six subscribers to The Weekly People and orders more blanks. That's the work that tells. Keep it up, Devine!

The Denver comrades are displaying considerable activity in behalf of the Party Press. We received seven Weekly and ten Monthly subs. through Comrade Michael this week. Denver is now in the midst of a general strike which our comrades are utilizing as all strikes should be utilized, to advance our cause.

Comrade Traynor, of Syracuse, sends in six subs for the Weekly. Having started in with a good number of subs weekly, Syracuse seems determined to keep it up. Good for Syracuse!

Among others who are pushing the circulation of the Party Press there is Comrade Wm. Veal, of Collinsville, Ill., who sends in four Weekly; Comrade Eastner, of Albany, ten Monthly; Comrade Warner, of Ontario, ten Monthly; Comrade Goltz, of Winona, five Weekly, and Comrade Peters, of Houston, Texas, five Weekly subs.

The total number of subscriptions received for the Weekly is far below that of last week, there being only 117 as against 186 the previous week.

The Monthly shows up poorly also; 232 as against 346 last week is far below what it should be. We expect the comrades all over the country to take hold and increase this number to 1,000 a week.

The secretary of The Daily People Finance Committee had no report ready, so there will be nothing to publish under that head this week. While waiting for the next report it would be well for the sections throughout the country to consider the enthusiastic plans adopted by Section Troy, N. Y., to make the party members the owner of the party's debts. These plans were printed in the correspondence column of The Daily People and also appear in those of the Weekly. The plan can be entered into by every member of the sections throughout the country. It will thus materially swell the number of those able to purchase Daily People Loan certificates.

At regular meeting Section South Hudson it was decided to invite county membership to meet at Twenty-second street, Bayonne, on Saturday, June 6, to assist at meetings at 4 and 8 p. m. Speakers Comrades Kinneally, Corregan, Brower, Oakes and Campbell will address the 5,000 workers at that point.

Secretary.

Ohio Daily People Fund.

The following has been received on pledges for the Ohio $425 Daily People Fund: Henry Piper, Geneva, $2.50; Section Cleveland, $2.00; McSullivan, Cleveland, $3.00; total, $7.50.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

Authorized Agents for the People

AKRON, O.—W. Garrity, 194 Upson street.
ALBANY, N. Y.—Clinton H. Pierce, 11 S. Swan street.
BALTIMORE, MD.—O Haselgrove, 705 Asquith street.
BELLEVILLE, ILL.—Walter Goss, 701 Bristow street.
BOSTON, MASS.—Frank Bohmbach, 87 Lamartine street, Jamaica Plain.
BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—J. C. Custer, 819 Broad street.
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CANTON, O.—John H. G. Juergens, 1106 High street.
CHICAGO, ILL.—Frank Hruby, 2639 Monticello avenue.
CINCINNATI, O.—Frank F. Young, 34 East Thirteenth street.
CLAYPOOL, IND.—Oliver P. Stoner
So. Third street; Oscar Freer, 222 1-2 N
CLEVELAND, O.—P. C. Christiansen, 78 Fairfield street. Fred Brown, 225 Isabella street.
CLINTON, IOWA.—E. C. Matson, 102 Howes street.
COLLONSVILLE, ILL.—Wm. Veal.
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.—L. Gunther, 3 South El Paso st.
COLUMBUS, OHIO.—Otto Steinhoff, 493 So. Third street. Oscar Freer, 222 N. 3rd street.
DENVER, COL.—Charles J. Michael, 400 Club Building.
DETROIT, MICH.—P. Frisema, Jr., 334 Arndt street.
DULUTH, MINN.—Ed. Kriz, 614 Garfield avenue.
E. ST. LOUIS, ILL.—G. A. Jenning, 1525 Broadway.
ELIZABETH, N. J.—G. T. Petersen, 219 Third street.
ERIE, PA.—Fred Uhlman, 656 W. 19th street.
EVANSVILLE, IND.—C. Schaad, 17 E. Pennsylvania street.
EVERETT, MASS.—Chas H. Chabot, 181 Broadway.
FALL RIVER, MASS.—Robert Bateson, 371 Crescent street.
GARDNER, MASS.—Thos. Smith, 18 Greenwood street.
GLOVERSVILLE, N. Y.—M. E. Wilcox, 47 E. Pine street.
GRAND JUNCTION, COL.—J. F. Sloan.
HAMILTON, OHIO.—Ben Hilbert, Jr., 811 Central avenue.
HAMILTON, ONT., CANADA.—Isaac Shapiro, 64 Ferguson avenue south.
HARTFORD, CONN.—Fred Fellermann, 2 State street, top floor.
HAVERHILL, MASS.—Michael T. Berry, 12 Arch street.
HOBOKEN, N. J.—Julius Eck, 310 Garden street.
HOLYOKE, MASS.—M. Ruther, 17 Glen street.
HOMESTEAD, PA.—James Lawry, 701 Amity street.
HOUSTON, TEX.—John J. Loverde, Socialist Labor Hall, 707 Preston avenue.
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—J. Burkhardt, 204 N. Noble street.
JACKSONVILLE, ILL.—J. De Castro, 714 W. Railroad street.
KANSAS CITY, KAN.—Jos. Trautwein, 1113 Stewart avenue.
KALAMAZOO, MICH.—Charles Peterson.
KANSAS CITY, MO.—O. M. Howard, 1215 Independence avenue.
KERN CITY, CAL.—C. D. Lavin.
LAWRENCE, MASS.—Gilbert S. Smith, 125 Garden street.
LINCOLN, NEB.—Dr. H. S. Aley, P. O. Box 1015.
LONDON, ONT., CANADA—George L. Bryce, 317 Grey street.
LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Louis C. Haller, 205 1-2 So. Main street.
LOUISVILLE, KY.—Thos. Sweeney, 1460 High street.
LOWELL MASS.—John Farrel, 24 Wilder street.
LYNN, MASS.—Jacob Overs, Highland House.
MALDEN, MASS.—Henry Lyndell, 27 Stanton street.
MARION, IND.—Ira L. Hunter, R. F. D. No. 6.
MARLBOROUGH, MASS.—C. W. Doyle, 57 Pleasant street.
MEDWAY, MASS.—John Cunningham, Village street.
MEDFORD, MASS.—George Anderson, 18 Almont street.
MILFORD, CONN.—Gust. Langer, P. O. 774.
MILWAUKEE, WIS—John Vierthaler, 340 5th street.
MINDEN MINES, MO.—A. D. Turner.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Chas. A. Johnson, Labor Lyceum, 36 Washington avenue S.
MONTREAL, CAN.—J. M. Couture, 793 Mount Royal avenue.
NEWARK, N. J.—A. P. Wittel, 78 Springfield avenue.
NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—Dennis McGoff, 351 Sawyer street.
NEW BRITAIN, CONN.—Roger W. Egan, 200 E. Main street.
NEW HAVEN, CT.—Christian Schmidt, 203 Foster street.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.—Leon Lecoste, 2402 Iberville street.
NO. ABINGTON, MASS.—Jer. Devine,
NOVINGER, MO.—D. A. Reed. Box 127.
PATERSON, N. J.—John C. Butterworth, 110 Albion avenue.
PAWTUCKET, R. I.—Charles H. Dana, 169 Dexter street.
PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—Charles Zolot, 1,511½ Main street.
PEORIA, ILL.—Fred Lichtsinn, 303 Argo street.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Edmund Seidel, 2125 Bridge street.
PUEBLO, COL.—J. T. Vaughn, 1707 W. 17th street.
RICHMOND, VA.—J. E. Madison, cor. Louis and Hollings streets.
ROANOKE, ILL.—Frank McVay.
ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Chas. R. Ruby, 861 Clinton avenue, South.
ROCKVILLE, CONN.—Gus Raisch, 87 Union street.
SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Frank Leitner, 207 Matagorda street.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—E. W. Carpenter, 51 Third street; J. A. Roulston, 305 Larkin street.
SAN PERDO, CAL.—Alexander Muhlberg.
SAN JOSE, CAL.—Fred Hamann, 42 Eldorado street.
ST. LOUIS, MO.—J. P. Streupel, 1532 Franklin avenue; John Neumann, 227 Menard street; John Feltman, 1019 N. Compton avenue.
ST. PAUL, MINN.—Samuel Johnson, 594 Jackson street.
SALEM, MASS.—John White, 1 Barton square.
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—P. C. Nelson, 1,642 Major avenue.
ST. CHARLES, MO.—R. H. McHugh.
SAGINAW, W. S., MICH.—Henry Ulbricht, 1015 Mackinaw street.
SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—J. S. Weinberger, Box 557.
SEATTLE, WASH.—William H. Walker, 903 Post street.
SHEBOYGAN, WIS.—F. H. Buer, 620 Pennsylvania avenue.
SOMERVILLE, MASS.—A. Quarnstrom, 23 Wyatt street.
SOUTH NORWALK, CONN.—Emil Singewald, General Delivery.
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.—F. A. Nagler, 141 Highland street.
SUTERSVILLE, PA.—Cyril Sistek.
SYRACUSE, N. Y.—J. Trainor, Room 14, Myers Block.
TACOMA, WASH.—C. M. Carlson, 3609 So. J street.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA.—Percy Kep, Bracondale, P. O.
TROY, N. Y.—G. F. Bussey, 93 6th avenue, No. Troy, N. Y.
TWO HARBORS, MINN.—V. C. Koneczny.
TUCSON, ARIZ.—M. E. Coggins.
UTICA, N. Y.—John Rapp, 23 Niagara avenue.
WATERVLIET, N. Y.—George McCune, 1234 Fourth avenue.
WILKINSBURG, PA.—J. A. McConnell.
WINNIPEG, MAN., CAN.—Andrew Walther, 209 Austin street.
WOBURN, MASS.—Peter Neilson, 74 Broad street.